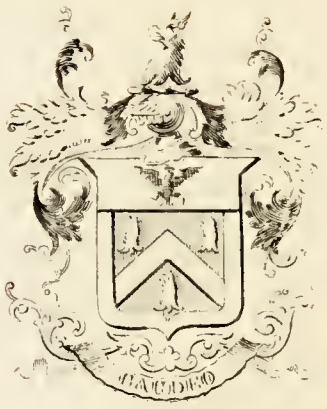

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MORE WONDERS

OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD:

OR,

THE WONDERS OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD,

DISPLAYED

IN FIVE PARTS.

PART I.—An Account of the Sufferings of MARGARET RULE, written by the Rev. C. M.

PART II.—Several Letters to the Author, &c. And his REPLY relating to WITCHCRAFT.

PART III.—The differences between the Inhabitants of SALEM-VILLAGE, and Mr. PARRIS, their Minister, in New-England.

PART IV.—Letters of a Gentleman unintereſted, endeavouring to prove the received opinions about WITCHCRAFT to be Orthodox. With ſhort Eſſays to their Anſwers.

PART V.—A ſhort Hiſtorical Account of Matters of Fact in that Affair.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A POSTSCRIPT,

Relating to a Book entitled, "The Life of Sir WILLIAM PHIPS."

Collected by ROBERT CALEF,
Merchant, of BOSTON, in New-England.

PRINTED IN LONDON IN THE YEAR 1700.

Re-printed in SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS, 1796,
BY WILLIAM CARLTON.

Sold at CUSHING & CARLTON's *Book-Store, at the Bible and Heart, Eſſex-Street.*

The EPISTLE to the READER,

And more especially to the Noble Barons of this age, wherever residing.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU that are freed from the slavery of a corrupt education ; and that in spite of human precepts, examples and precedents, can hearken to the dictates of scripture and reason : for your sakes I am content, that these Collections of mine, as also my sentiments, should be exposed to public view ; in hopes that having well considered and compared them with scripture, you will see reason, as I do, to question a belief so prevalent (as that here treated of) as also the practice flowing from thence ; they standing as nearly connect as cause and effect ; it being found wholly impracticable, to extirpate the latter without first curing the former. And if the buffoon or satyrical will be exercising their talents, or if the bigots wilfully and blindly reject the testimonies of their own reason, and more sure word, it is no more than what I expected from them. But you, Gentlemen, I doubt not, are willing to distinguish between truth and error, and if this may be any furtherance to you herein, I shall not miss my aim. But if you find the contrary, and that my belief herein is any way heterodox, I shall be thankful for the information to any

learned

learned or reverend perſon, or others, that ſhall take that pains to inform me better by ſcripture, or ſound reaſon, which is what I have been long ſeeking for in this country in vain.

In a time when not only England in particular, but almoſt all Europe had been labouring againſt the uſurpations of tyranny and ſlavery, the Engliſh-America has not been behind in a ſhare of the common calamities; more eſpecially, New-England has met not only with ſuch calamities as are common to the reſt, but with ſeveral aggravations enhanſing ſuch afflictions, by the devaſtations and cruelties of the barbarous Indians in their Eaſtern borders, &c. But this is not all, they have been harreſt (on many accounts) by a more dreadful enemy, as will herein appear to the conſiderate.

Were it as we are told in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, "That the Devils were walking about our ſtreets with lengthened chains, making a dreadful noiſe in our ears; and Brimſtone (even without a metaphor) was making a horrid and a helliſh ſtench in our noſtrils"—and "That the Devil, exhibiting himſelf ordinarily as a black-man, had decoyed a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures, to liſt themſelves in his horrid ſervice, by entering their names in a book tendered unto them; and that they have had their meetings and ſacraments, and aſſociated themſelves to deſtroy the kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe

parts

parts of the world ; having each of them their Spectres, or Devils, commissioned by them, and representing of them to be the engines of their malice, by these wicked Spectres, seizing poor people about the country, with various and bloody torments. And of those evidently preternatural torments some to have died—and that they have bewitched some even so far, as to make them self-destroyers, and others in many towns here and there languished under their evil hands. The people, thus afflicted, miserably scratched and bitten ; and that the same Invisible Furies, did stick pins in them, and scald them, distort and disjoint them, with a thousand other plagues ; and sometimes drag them out of their chambers, and carry them over trees and hills, miles together, many of them being tempted to sign the Devil's Laws." " Those Furies, whereof several have killed more people perhaps than would serve to make a village." If this be the true state of the afflictions of this country, it is very deplorable, and beyond all other outward calamities miserable. But if, on the other side, the matter be as others do understand it, that the Devil has been too hard for us by his temptations, signs, and lying wonders, with the help of pernicious notions, formerly imbibed and professed ; together with the accusations of a parcel of possessed, distracted, or lying wenches, accusing their innocent neighbours, pretending they see their Spectres (i. e.) Devils in their likeness afflicting of them, and that God in righteous judgement, (after men had

aſcribed his power to Witches, of commiſſioning Devils to do theſe things) may have given them over to ſtrong deluſions to believe lyes, &c. and to let looſe the Devils of envy, hatred, pride, cruelty and malice againſt each other; yet ſtill diſguiſed under the maſk of zeal for God, and left them to the branding one another, with the odious name of Witch; and upon the accuſation of thoſe above mentioned, brother to accuſe and proſecute brother, children their parents, paſtors and teachers their immediate flock, unto death; ſhepherds becoming wolves, wiſe men infatuated; people hauled to priſons, with a bloody noiſe purſuing to, and inſulting over, the (true) ſufferers at execution; while ſome are fleeing from that called juſtice, juſtice itſelf fleeing before ſuch accuſations, when once it did but begin to refrain further proceedings; and to queſtion ſuch practices, ſome making their eſcape out of priſons, rather than by an obſtinate defence of their innocency, to run ſo apparent hazard of their lives: eſtates ſeized, families of children and others left to the mercy of the wilderneſs (not to mention here the numbers preſcribed, dead in priſons, or executed, &c.)

All which tragedies, tho' begun in one town, or rather by one pariſh, has plague-like ſpread more than through that country. And by its Echo giving a brand of infamy to this whole country throughout the world.

If this were the miſerable caſe of this country in the time thereof, and that the Devil had

ſo

ſo far prevailed upon us in our ſentiments and actions, as to draw us from ſo much as looking into the ſcriptures for our guidance in theſe pretended intricacies, leading us to a truſting in blind guides, ſuch as the corrupt practices of ſome other countries, or the bloody experiments of Bodin, and ſuch other authors. Then, tho' our caſe be moſt miſerable, yet it muſt be ſaid of New-England, thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf, and brought this greateſt of miſeries upon thee.

And now, whether the Witches (ſuch as have made a compact by explicit covenant with the Devil, having thereby obtained a power to commiſſion him) have been the cauſe of our miſeries.

Or whether a zeal governed by blindneſs and paſſion, and led by precedent, has not herein precipitated us into far greater wickedneſs (if not Witchcrafts) than any have been yet proved againſt thoſe that ſuffered.

To be able to diſtinguiſh aright in this matter, to which of theſe two to refer our miſeries is the preſent work. As to the former, I know of no ſober man, much leſs reverend chriſtian, that being aſked, dares affirm and abide by it, that Witches have that power; viz. to commiſſion Devils to kill and deſtroy; and as to the latter, it were well if there were not too much of truth in it, which remains to be demonſtrated.

But here it will be ſaid, what need of raking in the coals that lay buried in oblivion. We cannot recal thoſe to life again, that have

ſuffered

ſuffered, ſuppoſing it were unjuſtly ; it tends but to the expoſing the actors, as if they had proceeded irregularly.

Truly I take this to be juſt, as the Devil would have it, ſo much to fear diſobliging men, as not to endeavour to detect his wiles, that ſo he may the ſooner, and with the greater advantages, ſet the ſame on foot again (either here or elſewhere) ſo dragging us through the pond twice by the ſame cat. And if reports do not (herein) deceive us, much the ſame has been acting this preſent year in Scotland. And what kingdom or country is it, that has not had their bloody fits and turns at it. And if this is ſuch a catching diſeaſe, and ſo univerſal, I preſume I need make no apology, for my endeavours to prevent, as far as in my power, any more ſuch bloody victims or ſacrifices ; tho' indeed I had rather any other would have undertaken ſo offenſive, tho' neceſſary, a taſk ; yet all things weighed, I had rather thus expoſe myſelf to cenſure, than that it ſhould be wholly omitted. Were the notions in queſtion, innocent and harmleſs, reſpecting the glory of God, and well being of men, I ſhould not have engaged in them, but finding them, in my eſteem, ſo intolerably deſtructive of both. This, together with my being by warrant called before the Juſtices, in my own juſt vindication, I took it to be a call from God, to my power, to vindicate his truths, againſt the Pagan and Popiſh aſſertions, which are ſo prevalent ; for tho' chriſtians in general do own the ſcriptures to be their only

rule of faith and doctrine, yet these notions will tell us, that the Scriptures have not sufficiently, nor at all, described the crime of Witchcraft, whereby the culpable might be detected, tho' it be positive in the command to punish it by Death; hence the world has been from time to time perplexed in the prosecution of the several diabolical mediums of Heathenish and Popish invention, to detect an imaginary crime (not but that there are Witches, such as the law of God describes) which has produced a deluge of blood; hereby rendering the commands of God not only void but dangerous.

So also they own God's providence and government of the world, and that tempests and storms, afflictions and diseases, are of his sending; yet these notions tell us, that the Devil has the power of all these, and can perform them when commissioned by a Witch thereto, and that he has a power, at the Witch's call, to act and do, without and against the course of nature, and all natural causes, in afflicting and killing of innocents; and this is that so many have died for.

Also it is generally believed, that if any man has strength, it is from God the Almighty Being: but these notions will tell us, that the Devil can make one man as strong as many, which was one of the best proofs, as it was counted, against Mr. Burroughs the Minister; tho' his contemporaries in the schools during his minority, could have testified, that his strength was then as much superior to theirs

as

as ever (ſetting aſide incredible romances) it was diſcovered to be ſince. Thus rendering the power of God, and his providence of none effect.

Theſe are ſome of the deſtructive notions of this age, and however the aſſerters of them ſeem ſometimes to value themſelves much upon ſheltering their neighbors from ſpectral accuſations. They may deſerve as much thanks as that tyrant, that having induſtriouſly obtained an unintelligible charge againſt his ſubjects, in matters wherein it was impoſſible they ſhould be guilty, having thereby their lives in his power, yet ſuffers them of his mere Grace to live, and will be called gracious Lord.

It were too Icarian a taſk for one unfurniſhed with neceſſary learning, and library, to give any juſt account, from whence ſo great deluſions have ſprung, and ſo long continued. Yet as an eſſay from thoſe ſcraps of reading that I have had opportunity of; it will be no great venture to ſay, that ſigns and lying wonders have been one principal cauſe.

It is written of Juſtin Martyr, who lived in the ſecond Century, that he was before his converſion a great philoſopher; firſt in the way of the Stoicks, and after, of the Peripateticks, after that of the Pythagorean, and after that of the Platoniſt ſects; and after all proved of eminent uſe in the church of Chriſt: yet a certain author ſpeaking of one Apollonius Tyaneus, has theſe words [That the moſt Orthodox themſelves began to deem him veſted with power ſufficient for a Deity; which

occaſioned

occaſioned that ſo ſtrange a doubt from Juſtin Martyr, as cited by the learned Gregory, Fol. 37. If God be the creator and Lord of the world, how comes it to paſs that Apollonius his Teliſms, have ſo much over-ruled the courſe of things! for we ſee that they alſo have ſtilled the waves of the ſea; and the raging of the winds, and prevailed againſt the noiſome flies, and incurſions of wild beaſts, &c. If ſo eminent and early a chriſtian were by theſe falſe ſhews in ſuch doubt, it is the leſs wonder in our depraved times, to meet with what is equivalent thereto: beſides this a certain author informs me, that [Julian (afterwards called the apoſtate) being inſtructed in the philoſophy and diſciplines of the heathen, by Libarius his tutor, by this means he came to love philoſophy better than the goſpel, and ſo by degrees turned from chriſtianity to heatheniſm].

This ſame Julian did, when apoſtate, forbid that Chriſtians ſhould be inſtructed in the diſcipline of the Gentiles, which (it ſeems) Socrates a writer of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, does acknowledge to be by the ſingular providence of God; Chriſtians having then begun to degenerate from the goſpel, and to betake themſelves to heatheniſh learning. And in the Mercury for the month of February, 1695, there is this account [That the chriſtian doctors, converſing much with the writings of the heathen, for the gaining of eloquence, a council was held at Carthage, which forbad the reading of the books of the Gentiles.]

From all which it may be eaſily perceived, that

that in the primitive times of chriſtianity, when not only many Heathen of the vulgar; but alſo many learned men and philoſophers, had imbraced the chriſtian faith; they ſtill retained a love to their Heathen-learning, to which, as one obſerves, being tranſplanted into a chriſtian ſoil, ſoon proved productive of pernicious weeds, which over-ran the face of the church, hence it was ſo deformed as the reformation found it.

Among other pernicious weeds ariſing from this root, the doctrine of the power of Devils, and Witchcraft as it is now, and long has been underſtood, is not the leaſt: the fables of Homer, Virgil, Horace and Ovid, &c. being for the elegancy of their language retained then (and ſo are to this day) in the ſchools; have not only introduced, but eſtabliſhed ſuch doctrines to the poiſoning the chriſtian world. A certain author expreſſes it thus [that as the chriſtian ſchools at firſt brought men from heatheniſm to the goſpel, ſo theſe ſchools carry men from the goſpel to heatheniſm, as to their great perfection] and Mr. I. M. in his *Remarkable Providences*, gives an account that (as he calls it) an old council did Anathematize all thoſe that believed ſuch power of the Devils, accounting it a damnable doctrine. But as other evils did afterwards increaſe in the Church (partly by ſuch education) ſo this inſenſibly grew up with them, tho' not to that degree, as that any council I have ever heard or read of, has to this day taken off thoſe Anathema's; yet after this the church ſo far declined, that Witch-

craft

craft became a principal eccleſiaſtical engine (as alſo that of hereſy was) to root up all that ſtood in their way; and beſides the ways of trial, that we have ſtill in practice, they invented ſome, which were peculiar to themſelves; which, whenever they were minded to improve againſt any orthodox believer, they could eaſily make effectual: That deluge of blood, which that Scarlet Whore has to anſwer for, ſhed under this notion, how amazing is it!

The firſt in England, that I have read of, of any note, ſince the reformation, that aſſerts this doctrine, is the famous Mr. Perkins—he (as alſo Mr. Gaul, and Mr. Bernard, &c.) ſeem all of them to have undertaken one taſk, taking notice of the multiplicity of irregular ways to try them by, invented by Heathen and Papiſts, made it their buſineſs, and main work, herein to oppoſe ſuch as they ſaw to be pernicious. And if they did not look more narrowly into it, but followed the firſt, viz. Mr. Perkins, whoſe education (as theirs alſo) had foreſtalled him, into ſuch belief, whom they readily followed, it cannot be wondered at: And that they were men, liable to err, and ſo not to be truſted to as perfect guides, will manifeſtly appear to him, that ſhall ſee their ſeveral receipts laid down to detect them, by their preſumptive and poſitive ones; and conſider how few of either, have any foundation in ſcripture, or reaſon; and how vaſtly they differ from each other in both; each having his art by himſelf, which forty or

an hundred more may as well imitate, and give theirs, ad infinitum, being without all manner of proof. But tho' this be their main deſign, to take off people from thoſe evil and bloody ways of trial, which they ſpeak ſo much againſt—yet this does not hinder to this day, but the ſame evil ways, or as bad, are ſtill uſed to detect them by, and that even among Proteſtants; and is ſo far juſtified, that a reverend perſon has ſaid lately here, How elſe ſhall we detect Witches? And another, being urged to prove by ſcripture, ſuch a ſort of Witch as has power to ſend Devils to kill men, replied, that he did as firmly believe it, as any article of his faith. And that he (the inquirer) did not go to the ſcriptures to learn the myſteries of his trade or art. What can be ſaid more to eſtabliſh their Heatheniſh notions, and to villify the ſcriptures, our only rule? and that, after we have ſeen ſuch dire effects thereof, as has theatened the utter extirpation of this whole country.

And as to moſt of the actors in theſe tragedies, tho' they are ſo far from defending their actions, that they will readily own that undue ſteps have been taken, &c. yet it ſeems they chooſe that the ſame ſhould be acted over again, enforced by their example, rather than that it ſhould remain as a warning to poſterity, as herein they have miſt it. So far are they from giving glory to God, and taking the due ſhame to themſelves.

And now to ſum up all in a few words, we have ſeen a biggotted zeal, ſtirring up a blind,

and

and moſt bloody rage, not againſt enemies, or irreligious, profligate perſons—but (in judgment of charity, and to view) againſt as virtuous and religious as any they have left behind them in this country, which have ſuffered as evil doers (with the utmoſt extent of rigour, not that ſo high a character is due to all that ſuffered) and this by the teſtimony of vile varlets, as not only were known before, but have been further apparent ſince, by their maniſeſt lives, whoredoms, inceſt, &c. The accuſations of theſe, from their ſpectral ſight, being the chief evidence againſt thoſe that ſuffered; in which accuſations they were upheld by both magiſtrates and miniſters, ſo long as they apprehended themſelves in no danger.

And then, tho' they could defend neither the doctrine nor the practice, yet none of them have in ſuch a publick manner as the caſe requires, teſtified againſt either; tho' at the ſame time they could not but be ſenſible what a ſtain and laſting infamy they have brought upon the whole country, to the indangering the future welfare not only of this but of other places, induced by their example; if not, to an intailing the guilt of all the righteous blood that has been by the ſame means ſhed, by Heathen or Papiſts, &c. upon themſelves, whoſe deeds they have ſo far juſtified, occaſioning the great diſhonour and blaſphemy of the name of God, ſcandalizing the Heathen, hardening of enemies; and, as a natural effect thereof, to the great increaſe of Atheiſm.

I ſhall conclude, only with acquainting the

reader

reader, that of theſe collections, the firſt, containing more Wonders of the Inviſible World, I received of a gentleman, who had it of the author, and communicated it to uſe, with his expreſs conſent, of which this is a true copy. As to the letters, they are, for ſubſtance, the ſame I ſent, tho' with ſome ſmall variation, or addition. Touching the two letters from a gentleman, at his requeſt I have forborn naming him. It is great pity, the matters of fact, and indeed the whole, had not been done by ſome abler hand, better accompliſhed, and advantages, with both natural and acquired judgment; but others not appearing, I have inforced myſelf to do what is done, my other occaſions will not admit any further ſcrutiny therein.

R. C.

Auguſt 11, 1697.

SIR,

I NOW lay before you a very entertaining ſtory—a ſtory which relates yet more Wonders of the Inviſible World—a ſtory which tells the remarkable afflictions and deliverance of one that had been prodigiouſly handled by the Evil Angels. I was myſelf a daily eye witneſs to a large part of theſe occurrences, and there may be produced ſcores of ſubſtantial witneſſes to the moſt of them; yea, I know not of any one paſſage of the ſtory but what may be ſufficiently atteſted. I do not write it with a deſign of throwing it preſently into the preſs, but only to preſerve the memory of ſuch memorable things, the forgetting whereof would neither be pleaſing to God, nor uſeful to men; as alſo to give you,

with ſome others of peculiar and obliging friends, a ſight of ſome curioſities; and I hope this apology will ſerve to excuſe me, if I mention, as perhaps I may, when I come to a tenth paragraph in my writing, ſome things which I would have omitted in a farther publication.

COTTON MATHER.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER BRAND

PLUCKT OUT OF THE

BURNING:

OR,

MORE WONDERS

OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD.

WITHIN theſe few years, there died in the ſouthern parts, a chriſtian Indian, who, notwithſtanding ſome of his Indian weakneſs, had ſomething of a better character, of virtue and goodneſs, than many of our people can allow to moſt of their country-men, that profeſs the chriſtian religion. He had been a zealous preacher of the goſpel to his neighbourhood, and a ſort of overſeer, or officer, to whoſe conduct was owing very much of what good order was maintained among thoſe proſelited ſavages. This man, returning home from the funeral of his ſon, was complimented by an Engliſhman, expreſſing ſorrow for his loſs; now, tho' the Indians uſed upon the death of relations to be the moſt paſſionate and outrageous creatures in the world, yet this converted Indian handſomely and chearfully replied, Truly I am ſorry, and I am not

ſorry:

ſorry: I am ſorry that I have buried a dear ſon; but I am not ſorry, that the will of God is done. I know that without the will of God my ſon could not have died, and I know that the will of God is always juſt and good, and ſo I am ſatisfied. Immediately upon this, even within a few hours, he fell himſelf ſick, of a diſeaſe that quickly killed him; in the time of which diſeaſe, he called his folks about him, earneſtly perſuading them, to be ſincere in their praying unto God, and to beware of the drunkenneſs, the idleneſs, the lying, whereby ſo many of that nation diſgraced their profeſſion of chriſtianity; adding, that he was aſhamed, when he thought how little ſervice he had hitherto done for God; and, that if God would prolong his life, he would labour to do better ſervice, but that he was fully ſure, he was now going to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who had bought him with his precions blood; and for his part, he longed to die, that he might be with his glorious Lord; and in the midſt of ſuch paſſages, he gave up the ghoſt; but in ſuch repute, that the Engliſh people, of good faſhion, did not think much of travelling a great way, to his interment. Leſt my reader do now wonder why I have related this piece of a ſtory, I will now haſten to abate that wonder by telling that whereto this was intended but for an introduction: know then, that this remarkable Indian being, a little before he died, at work in the wood, making of tar, there appeared unto him a Black Man, of a terrible aſpect, and more than human dimen-

ſions,

ſions, threatening bittterly to kill him, if he would not promiſe to leave off preaching, as he did to his country-men, and promiſe particularly, that if he preached any more, he would ſay nothing of Jeſus Chriſt, unto them! The Indian was amazed, yet had the courage to anſwer, I will, in ſpite of you, go on to preach Chriſt, more than ever I did, and the God whom I ſerve will keep me, that you ſhall never hurt me. Hereupon the apparition, abating ſomewhat of his fierceneſs, offered to the Indian a book of a conſiderable thickneſs, and a pen and ink, and ſaid, that if he would now ſet his hand unto that book, he would require nothing further of him; but the man refuſed the motion with indignation, and fell down upon his knees into a fervent and pious prayer unto God, for help againſt the tempter, whereupon the demon vaniſhed.

This is a ſtory which I would never have tendered unto my reader, if I had not received it from an honeſt and uſeful Engliſhman, who is at this time a preacher of the goſpel to the Indians; nor would the probable truth of it have encouraged me to have tendered it, if this alſo had not been a fit introduction unto yet a further narrative.

Sect. 2. It was not much above a year or two after this accident (of which no manner of noiſe has been made) that there was a prodigious deſcent of Devils upon divers places near the center of this Province: wherein ſome ſcores of miſerable people were troubled by horrible appearances of a Black Man, accompanied

companied with ſpectres, wearing theſe and thoſe human ſhapes, who offered them a book to be by them ſigned, in token of their being liſted for the ſervice of the Devil, and upon their denying to do it, they were dragooned with a thouſand preternatural torments, which gave no little terror to the beholders of theſe unhappy people. There was one in the north part of Boſton ſeized by the Evil Angels many months after the general ſtorm of the late inchantments was over, and when the country had long lain very quiet, both as to moleſtations and accuſations from the Inviſible World: her name was Margaret Rule, a young woman—ſhe was born of ſober and honeſt parents yet living, but what her own character was before her viſitation I can ſpeak with the leſs confidence of exactneſs, becauſe I obſerve that wherever the Devils have been let looſe, to worry any poor creature among us, a great part of the neighbourhood preſently ſet themſelves to inquire, and relate all the little vanities of their childhood, with ſuch unequal exaggerations, as to make them appear greater ſinners than any whom the Pilot of Hell has not yet preyed upon: But it is affirmed, that for about half a year before her viſitation, ſhe was obſervably improved, in the hopeful ſymptoms of a new creature; ſhe was become ſeriouſly concerned for the everlaſting ſalvation of her ſoul, and careful to avoid the ſnares of evil company. This young woman had never ſeen the afflictions of Mercy Short, whereof a narrative has been already given, and yet, a-

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bout half a year after the glorious and ſignal deliverance of that poor damſel, this Margaret fell into an affliction, marvellous, reſembling hers in almoſt all the circumſtances of it; indeed the afflictions were ſo much alike, that the relation I have given of the one, would almoſt ſerve as the full hiſtory of the other; this was to that little more than the ſecond part to the ſame tune; indeed Margaret's caſe was in ſeveral points leſs remarkable than Mercy's, and in ſome other things the entertainment did a little vary.

Sect. 3. It was upon the Lord's day, the 10th of September, in the year 1693, that Margaret Rule, after ſome hours of previous diſturbance in the publick Aſſembly, fell into odd fits, which cauſed her friends to carry her home, where her fits in a few hours grew into a figure, that ſatisfied the ſpectators of their being preternatural; ſome of the neighbours were forward enough to ſuſpect the riſe of this miſchief in an houſe hard-by, where lived a miſerable woman who had been formerly impriſoned, on the ſuſpicion of witchcraft, and who had frequently cured very painful hurts, by muttering over them certain charms, which I ſhall not endanger the poiſoning of my reader by repeating. This woman had, the evening before Margaret fell into her calamities, very bitterly treated her, and threatened her; but the hazard of hurting a poor woman, that might be innocent, notwithſtanding ſurmizes that might have been more ſtrongly grounded than thoſe, cauſed

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the pious people in the vicinity, to try, rather, whether inceſſant ſupplication to God alone, might not procure a quicker and ſafer eaſe to the afflicted, than haſty proſecution of any ſuppoſed criminal, and accordingly that unexceptionable courſe was all that was ever followed—yea, which I looked on as a token for good, the afflicted family was as averſe as any of us, to entertain thoughts of any other courſe.

Sect. 4. The young woman was aſſaulted by eight cruel ſpectres, whereof ſhe imagined that ſhe knew three or four, but the reſt came ſtill with their faces covered, ſo that ſhe could never have a diſtinguiſhed view of the countenance of thoſe, whom ſhe thought ſhe knew; ſhe was very careful of my reiterated charges, to forbear blazing the names, leſt any good perſon ſhould come to ſuffer any blaſt of reputation, thro' the cunning malice of the great accuſer; nevertheleſs, having ſince privately named them to myſelf, I will venture to ſay this of them, that they are a ſort of wretches, who for theſe many years have gone under as violent preſumptions of Witchcraft, as perhaps any creatures yet living upon earth; altho' I am far from thinking that the viſions of this young woman were evidence enough to prove them ſo. Theſe curſed ſpectres now brought unto her a book about a cubit long—a book red and thick, but not very broad; and they demanded of her, that ſhe would ſet her hand to that book, or touch it at leaſt with her hand, as a ſign of her becoming a ſervant of

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the devil; upon her peremptory refusal to do what they asked, they did not after renew the profers of the book unto her, but instead thereof they fell to tormenting of her in a manner too hellish to be sufficiently described—in those torments confining her to her bed for just six weeks together.

Sect. 5. Sometimes, but not always together with the spectres, there looked in upon the young woman (according to her account) a short and a black man, whom they called their master—a white exactly of the same dimensions and complexion and voice, with the devil that has exhibited himself unto other infested people, not only in other parts of this country, but also in other countries, even of the European World, as the relation of the enchantments there inform us. They all profest themselves vassals of this devil, and in obedience unto him they address themselves unto various ways of torturing her; accordingly she was cruelly pinched with invisible hands, very often in a day, and the black and blue marks of the pinches became immediately visible unto the standers by. Besides this, when her attendants had left her without so much as one pin about her, that so they might prevent some feared inconveniencies, yet she would every now and then be miserably hurt with pins, which were found stuck into her neck, back and arms; however the wounds made by the pins would in a few minutes ordinarily be cured; she would also be strangely distorted in her joints, and thrown

into ſuch exorbitant convulſions as were aſtoniſhing unto the ſpectators in general: They that could behold the doleful condition of the poor family without ſenſible compaſſions, might have entrails indeed; but I am ſure they could have no true bowels in them.

Sect. 6. It were a moſt unchriſtian and uncivil, yea, a moſt unreaſonable thing to imagine, that the fits of the young woman were but mere impoſtures; and I believe ſcarce any but people of a particular dirtineſs will harbour ſuch an uncharitable cenſure; however, becauſe I know not how far the devil may drive the imagination of poor creatures, when he has poſſeſſion of them, that at another time when they are themſelves, would ſcorn to diſſemble any thing, I ſhall now confine my narrative unto paſſages wherein there could be no room left for any diſſimulation. Of theſe, the firſt that I'll mention ſhall be this—from the time that Margaret Rule firſt found herſelf to be formally beſieged by the ſpectres until the ninth day following, namely, from the tenth of September to the eighteenth, ſhe kept an entire faſt, and yet ſhe was unto all appearance as freſh, as lively, as hearty, at the nine days end, as before they began; in all this time, tho' ſhe had a very eager hunger upon her ſtomach, yet if any refreſhment were brought unto her, her teeth would be ſet, and ſhe would be thrown into many miſeries, indeed once or twice or ſo in all this time her tormentors permitted her to ſwallow a mouthful of ſomewhat that might increaſe her miſeries,

ſeries, whereof a ſpoonful of rum was the moſt conſiderable ; but otherwiſe, as I ſaid, her faſt unto the ninth day was very extreme and rigid : however, afterwards there ſcarce paſſed a day wherein ſhe had not liberty to take ſomething or other for her ſuſtentation—And I muſt add this, further, that this buſineſs of her faſt was carried ſo, that it was impoſſible to be diſſembled without a combination of multitudes of people, unacquainted with one another, to ſupport the juggle ; but he that can imagine ſuch a thing of a neighbourhood, ſo filled with virtuous people, is a baſe man—I cannot call him any other.

Sect. 7. But if the ſufferings of this young woman were not impoſture, yet might they not be pure diſtemper ? I will not here inquire of our Saducees what ſort of a diſtemper it is, that ſhall ſtick the body full of pins without any hand that could be ſeen to ſtick them ; or whether all the pin-makers in the world would be willing to be evaporated into certain ill habits of body, producing a diſtemper ; but of the diſtemper my reader ſhall be judge, when I have told him ſomething further of thoſe unuſual ſufferings. I do believe that the evil angels do often take advantage from natural diſtempers in the children of men, to annoy them with ſuch further miſchiefs, as we call preternatural. The malignant vapours and humours of our diſeaſed bodies may be uſed by devils, thereinto inſinuating as engines of the execution of their malice upon thoſe bodies ; and perhaps, for this reaſon, one ſex

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may ſuffer more troubles of ſome kinds from the Inviſible World than the other; as well as for that reaſon, for which the old ſerpent made, where he did his firſt addreſs. But I pray, what will you ſay to this, Margaret Rule would ſometimes have her jaws forcibly pulled open, whereupon ſomething inviſible would be poured down her throat; we all ſaw her ſwallow, and yet we ſaw her try all ſhe could by ſpitting, coughing and ſhrieking, that ſhe might not ſwallow; but one time the ſtanders by plainly ſaw ſomething of that odd liquor itſelf on the outſide of her neck: She cried out of it, as of ſcalding brimſtone poured into her, and the whole houſe would immediately ſcent ſo hot of brimſtone that we were ſcarce able to endure it—whereof there are ſcores of witneſſes; but the young woman herſelf would be ſo monſtrouſly inflamed that it would have broke a heart of ſtone to have ſeen her agonies. This was a thing that ſeveral times happened, and ſeveral times when her mouth was thus pulled open the ſtanders by clapping their hands cloſe thereupon, the diſtreſſes that otherwiſe followed would be diverted. Moreover there was a whitiſh powder to us inviſible ſometimes caſt upon the eyes of this young woman, whereby her eyes would be extremely incommoded, but one time ſome of this powder was fallen actually viſible upon her cheek, from whence the people in the room wiped it with their handkerchiefs; and ſometimes the young woman would alſo be ſo bitterly ſcorched with the unſeen ſulpher

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thrown upon her, that very ſenſible bliſters would be raiſed upon her ſkin, whereto her friends found it neceſſary to apply the oils proper for common burnings; but the moſt of theſe hurts would be cured in two or three days at fartheſt: I think I may without vanity pretend to have read not a few of the beſt ſyſtems of phyſick that have been yet ſeen in theſe American regions, but I muſt confeſs that I have never yet learned the name of the natural diſtemper whereto theſe odd ſymptoms do belong: however, I might ſuggeſt perhaps many a natural medicine which would be of ſingular uſe againſt many of them.

SECT. 8. But there fell out ſome other matters far beyond the reach of natural diſtemper: This Margaret Rule once in the middle of the night lamented ſadly that the ſpectres threatened the drowning of a young man, in the neighbourhood, whom ſhe named unto the company: well, it was afterwards found that at that very time this young man, having been preſt on board a man of war, then in the harbour, was out of ſome diſſatisfaction attempting to ſwim aſhore, and he had been drowned in the attempt, if a boat had not ſeaſonably taken him up; it was by computation a minute or two after the young woman's diſcourſe of the drowning, that the young man took the water. At another time ſhe told us, that the ſpectres bragged and laughed in her hearing about an exploit they had lately done, by ſtealing from a gentleman his will ſoon

after he had written it; and within a few hours after ſhe had ſpoken this, there came to me a gentleman with a private complaint, that having written his will, it was unaccountably gone out of the way, how, or where, he could not imagine; and beſides all this, there were wonderful noiſes, every now and then, made about the room, which our people could aſcribe to no other authors but the ſpectres; yea, the watchers affirm, that they heard thoſe fiends clapping of their hands together with an audibleneſs wherein they could not be impoſed upon: And once her tormentors pulled her up to the cieling of the chamber, and held her there, before a very numerous company of ſpectators, who found it as much as they could all do to pull her down again. There was alſo another very ſurpriſing circumſtance about her, agreeable to what we have not only read in ſeveral hiſtories, concerning the imps that have been employed in witchcraft; but alſo known in ſome of our own afflicted: We once thought we perceived ſomething ſtir upon her pillow at a little diſtance from her, whereupon one preſent laying his hand there, he to his horror apprehended that he felt, tho' none could ſee it, a living creature not altogether unlike a rat, which nimbly eſcaped from him: and there were diverſe other perſons who were thrown into a great conſternation by feeling, as they judged, at other times the ſame inviſible animal.

SECT. 9. As it has been with a thouſand other

other enchanted people, ſo it was with Margaret Rule in this particular, that there were ſeveral words which her tormentors would not let her hear, eſpecially the words pray or prayer, and yet ſhe could ſo hear the letters of thoſe words diſtinctly mentioned as to know what they meant. The ſtanders by were forced ſometimes thus in diſcourſe to ſpell a word to her, but becauſe there were ſome ſo ridiculous as to count it a ſort of ſpell or a charm for any thus to accommodate themſelves to the capacity of the ſufferer, little of this kind was done. But that which was more ſingular in this matter, was, that ſhe could not uſe theſe words in thoſe penetrating diſcourſes wherewith ſhe would ſometimes addreſs the ſpectres that were about her. She would ſometimes for a long while together apply herſelf to the ſpectres, whom ſhe ſuppoſed the witches, with ſuch exortations to repentance as would have melted an heart of adamant to have heard them ; her ſtrains of expreſſion and argument were truly extraordinary—A perſon perhaps of the beſt education and experience, and of attainments much beyond hers, could not have exceeded them : nevertheleſs when ſhe came to theſe words God, Lord, Chriſt, Good, Repent, and ſome other ſuch, her mouth could not utter them ; whereupon ſhe would ſometimes in an angry parentheſis complain of their wickedneſs in ſtopping that word, but ſhe would then go on with ſome other terms that would ſerve to tell what ſhe meant. And I believe that if the moſt ſuſpicious perſon in

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the world had beheld all the circumſtances of this matter, he would have ſaid it could not have been diſſembled.

Sect. 10. Not only in the Swediſh, but alſo in the Salem Witchcraft, the enchanted people have talked much of a White Spirit from whence they received marvellous aſſiſtances in their miſeries: what lately befel Mercy Short from the communications of ſuch a ſpirit hath been the juſt wonder of us all, but by ſuch a ſpirit was Margaret Rule now alſo viſited. She ſays that ſhe could never ſee his face; but that ſhe had a frequent view of his bright, ſhining and glorious garments; he ſtood by her bed-ſide continually heartening and comforting of her, and counſelling her to maintain her faith and hope in God, and never comply with the temptations of her adverſaries; ſhe ſays he told her, that God had permitted her afflictions to befal her for the everlaſting and unſpeakable good of her own ſoul, and for the good of many others, and for his own immortal glory—and that ſhe ſhould therefore be of good chear, and be aſſured of a ſpeedy deliverance; and the wonderful reſolution of mind wherewith ſhe encountered her afflictions were but agreeable to ſuch expectations. Moreover a miniſter having one day with ſome importunity prayed for the deliverance of this young woman, and pleaded that ſhe belonged to his flock and charge, he had ſo far a right unto her as that he was to do the part of a miniſter of our Lord for the bringing of her home unto God, only now the devil hindred him in doing that which

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he had a right thus to do ; and whereas he had a better title unto her to bring her home to God, than the devil could have unto her to carry her away from the Lord, he therefore humbly applied himſelf unto God, who alone could right this matter, with a ſuit that ſhe might be reſcued out of ſatan's hands. Immediately upon this, tho' ſhe heard nothing of this tranſaction, ſhe began to call that miniſter her father, and that was the name whereby ſhe every day before all ſorts of people diſtinguiſhed him : the occaſion of it ſhe ſays was this, the white ſpirit preſently upon this tranſaction did after this manner ſpeak to her, Margaret, you now are to take notice that ſuch a man is your father, God has given you to him, do you from this time look upon him as your father, obey him, regard him as your father, follow his counſels and you ſhall do well. And tho' there was one paſſage more, which I do as little know what to make of as any of the reſt, I am now going to relate it ; more than three times have I ſeen it fulfiled in the deliverance of enchanted and poſſeſt perſons, whom the providence of God has caſt into my way, that their deliverance could not be obtained before the third faſt kept for them, and the third day ſtill obtained the deliverance, altho' I have thought of beſeeching of the Lord thrice, when buffeted by ſatan, yet I muſt earneſtly intreat all my readers to beware of any ſuperſtitious conceits upon the number *three* ; if our God will hear us upon once praying and faſting before him, it is well, and

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if he will not vouchſafe his mercy upon our thrice doing ſo, yet we muſt not be ſo diſcouraged as to throw by our devotion; but if the ſovereign grace of our God will in any particular inſtances count our patience enough tryed when we have ſolemnly waited upon him for any determinate number of times, who ſhall ſay to him, What doeſt thou?—and if there ſhall be any number of inſtances wherein this grace of our God has exactly holden the ſame courſe, it may have a room in our humble obſervations I hope without any ſuperſtition. I ſay then that after Margaret Rule had been more than five weeks in her miſeries, this white ſpirit ſaid unto her, "Well, this day ſuch a man (whom he named) has kept a third day for your deliverance, now be of good cheer, you ſhall ſpeedily be delivered." I inquired whether what had been ſaid of that man were true, and I gained exact and certain information that it was preciſely ſo, but I doubt leſt in relating this paſſage that I have uſed more openneſs than a friend ſhould be treated with, and for that cauſe I have concealed ſeveral of the moſt memorable things that have occurred not only in this but in ſome former hiſtories, altho' indeed I am not ſo well ſatisfied about the true nature of this white ſpirit, as to count that I can do a friend much honour by reporting what notice this white ſpirit may have thus taken of him.

Sect. 11. On the laſt day of the week her tormentors (as ſhe thought and ſaid) approaching towards her, would be forced ſtill to recoil

coil and retire as unaccountably, unable to meddle with her; and they would retire to the fire ſide with their poppets; but going to ſtick pins into thoſe poppets, they could not (according to their viſions) make the pins to enter. She inſulted over them with a very proper deriſion, daring them now to do their worſt, whilſt ſhe had the ſatisfaction to ſee their black maſter ſtrike them and kick them, like an overſeer of ſo many negroes, to make them to do their work, and renew the marks of his vengeance on them when they failed of doing of it. At laſt being as it were tired with their ineffectual attempts to mortify her, they furiouſly ſaid, "Well you ſhan't be the laſt." And after a pauſe they added, "Go, and the devil go with you, we can do no more"— whereupon they flew out of the room, and ſhe returning perfectly to herſelf, moſt affectionately gave thanks to God for her deliverance. Her tormentors left her extremely weak and faint, and overwhelmed with vapours, which would not only cauſe her ſometimes to ſwoon away, but alſo now and then for a little while diſcompoſe the reaſonableneſs of her thoughts. Nevertheleſs her former troubles returned not; but we are now waiting to ſee the good effects of thoſe troubles upon the ſouls of all concerned: and now I ſuppoſe that ſome of our learned witlings of the coffee-houſe, for fear leſt theſe proofs of an Inviſible World ſhould ſpoil ſome of their ſport, will endeavour to turn them all into ſport; for which buffoonery their only pretence will be,

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"They can't understand how such things as these could be done"—whereas indeed he that is but philosopher enough to have read but one little treatise, published in the year 1656, by no other man than the Chyrurgion of an army, or but one chapter of Helmont, which I will not quote at this time too particularly, may give a far more intelligible account of these appearances than most of these blades can give why and how their tobacco makes them spit; or which way the flame of their candle becomes illuminating—as for that cavil—"The world would be undone if the devils could have such power as they seem to have in several of our stories"—it may be answered, that as to many things the lying devils have only known them to be done and then pretended unto the doing of those things; but the true and best answer is, that by these things we only see what the devils could have power to do, if the great God should give them that power—whereas, now our histories afford a glorious evidence for the being of a God. The world would indeed be undone, and horribly undone, if these devils, who now and then get liberty to play some very mischievous pranks, were not under a daily restraint of some Almighty Superior from doing more of such mischiefs. Wherefore, instead of all apish flouts and jeers at histories which have such undoubted confirmation, as that no man that has breeding enough to regard the common laws of human society, will offer to doubt of them—it becomes us rather to adore the good-

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neſs of God, who does not permit ſuch things every day to befal us all, as he ſometimes did permit to befal ſome few of our miſerable neighbours.

Sect. 12. And why, after all my unwearied cares and pains to reſcue the miſerable from the lions and bears of hell, which had ſeized them, and after all my ſtudies to diſappoint the Devils in their deſigns to confound my neighbourhood, muſt I be driven to the neceſſity of an apology? Truly the hard repreſentations wherewith ſome ill men have revil-ed my conduct, and the countenance which o-ther men have given to theſe repreſentations, oblige me to give mankind ſome account of my behaviour. No chriſtian can (I ſay none but evil workers can) criminate my viſiting ſuch of my poor flock as have at any time fallen under the terrible and ſenſible moleſtations of Evil Angels: let their afflictions have been what they will, I could not have anſwered it unto my glorious Lord, if I had withheld my juſt coun-ſels and comforts from them; and if I have alſo with ſome exactneſs obſerved the methods of the Inviſible World, when they have thus be-come obſervable, I have been but a ſervant of mankind in doing ſo; yea, no leſs a perſon than the venerable Baxter has more than once or twice in the moſt publick man-ner invited mankind to thank me for that ſer-vice. I have not been inſenſible of a greater danger attending me in this fulfilment of my miniſtry, than if I had been to take ten thou-ſand ſteps over a rocky mountain filled with

rattle-ſnakes; but I have conſidered, he that is wiſe will obſerve things; and the ſurpriſing explication and confirmation of the biggeſt part of the bible, which I have ſeen given in theſe things, has abundantly paid me for obſerving them. Now in my viſiting of the miſerable, I was always of this opinion, that we were ignorant of what power the Devils might have to do their miſchiefs in the ſhapes of ſome that had never been explicitly engaged in diabolical confederacies, and that therefore, tho' many witchcrafts had been fairly detected on inquires provoked and begun by ſpectral exhibitions, yet we could not eaſily be too jealous of the ſnares laid for us in the devices of Satan. The world knows how many pages I have compoſed and publiſhed, and particular gentlemen in the Government know how many letters I have written to prevent the exceſſive credit of ſpectral accuſations; wherefore I have ſtill charged the afflicted that they ſhould cry out of no body for afflicting of them; but that if this might be any advantage, they might privately tell their minds to ſome one perſon of diſcretion enough to make no ill uſe of their communications—accordingly there has been this effect of it, that the name of no one good perſon in the world ever came under any blemiſh by means of an afflicted perſon that fell under my particular cognizance—yea, no one man, woman or child ever came into any trouble for the ſake of any that were afflicted, after I had once begun to look after them. How often have I had this thrown into my diſh

"That many years ago I had an opportunity to have brought forth ſuch people as have in the late ſtorm of witchcraft been complained of, but that I ſmothered all; and after that ſtorm was raiſed at Salem, I did myſelf offer to provide meat, drink and lodging for no leſs than ſix of the afflicted, that ſo an experiment might be made, whether prayer with faſting, upon the removal of the diſtreſſed, might not put a period to the trouble then riſing, without giving the civil authority the trouble of proſecuting thoſe things which nothing but a conſcientious regard unto the cries of miſerable families, could have overcome the reluctancies of the honourable Judges to meddle with." In ſhort, I do humbly but freely affirm it, there is not that man living in this world who has been more deſirous than the poor man I to ſhelter my neighbours from the inconveniences of ſpectral outcries; yea, I am very jealous I have done ſo much that way as to ſin in what I have done—ſuch have been the cowardize and fearfulneſs whereunto my regard unto the diſſatisfactions of other people has precipitated me. I know a man in the world, who has thought he has been able to convict ſome ſuch witches as ought to die, but his reſpect unto the publick peace has cauſed him rather to try whether he could not renew them by repentance; and as I have been ſtudious to defeat the Devils of their expectations to ſet people together by the ears thus, I have alſo checked and quelled thoſe forbidden curioſities which would have given the Devil an

invitation to have tarried amongſt us, when I have ſeen wonderful ſnares laid for curious people, by the ſecret and future things diſcovered from the mouths of damſels poſſeſt with a ſpirit of divination: Indeed I can recollect but one thing wherein there could be given ſo much as a ſhadow of reaſon for exceptions, and that is my allowing of ſo many to come and ſee thoſe that were afflicted. Now for that I have this to ſay, that I have almoſt a thouſand times intreated the friends of the miſerable, that they would not permit the intruſion of any company, but ſuch as by prayers or other ways might be helpful to them; nevertheleſs I have not abſolutely forbid all company from coming to your haunted chambers, partly becauſe the calamities of the families were ſuch as requir-ed the aſſiſtance of many friends; partly becauſe I have been willing that there ſhould be diſintereſted witneſſes of all ſorts, to confute the calumnies of ſuch as would ſay all was but impoſture, and partly becauſe I ſaw God had ſanctified the ſpectacle of the miſeries on the afflicted unto the ſouls of many that were ſpectators; and it is a very glorious thing that I have now to mention—The Devils have with moſt horrid operations broke in upon our neighbourhood, and God has at ſuch a rate overruled all the fury and malice of thoſe Devils, that all the afflicted have not only been delivered, but I hope alſo ſavingly brought home unto God, and the reputation of no one good perſon in the world has been damaged;

but

but inſtead thereof the ſouls of many, eſpecially of the riſing generation, have been thereby awakened unto ſome acquaintance with religion—our young people who belonged unto the praying meetings of both ſexes, a part would ordinarily ſpend whole nights by whole weeks together in prayers and pſalms upon theſe occaſions, in which devotions the devils could get nothing, but like fools, a ſcourge for their own backs ; and ſome ſcores of other young people, who were ſtrangers to real piety, were now ſtruck with the lively demonſtrations of Hell evidently ſet forth before their eyes, when they ſaw perſons cruelly frighted, wounded and ſtarved by Devils, and ſcalded with burning brimſtone ; and yet ſo preſerved in this tortured ſtate, as that at the end of one month's wretchedneſs, they were as able ſtill to undergo another—ſo that of theſe alſo it might now be ſaid, " Behold they pray in the whole—the Devil got juſt nothing —but God got praiſes, Chriſt got ſubjects, the Holy Spirit got temples, the Church got addition, and the ſouls of men got everlaſting benefits." I am not ſo vain as to ſay that any wiſdom or virtue of mine did contribute unto this good order of things ; but I am ſo juſt as to ſay, I did not hinder this good. When therefore there have been thoſe that picked up little incoherent ſcraps and bits of my diſcourſes in this fruitful diſcharge of my miniſtry, and ſo traverſed them in their abuſive pamphlets, as to perſuade the town that I was their common enemy in thoſe ve-

ry points, wherein, if in any one thing whatſoever I have ſenſibly approved myſelf as true a ſervant unto them as poſſibly I could, tho' my life and ſoul had been at ſtake for it —yea to do like Satan himſelf, by ſly, baſe, unpretending inſinuations, as if I wore not the modeſty and gravity which became a miniſter of the goſpel, I could not but think myſelf unkindly dealt withal, and the neglects of others to do me juſtice in this affair has cauſed me to conclude this narrative with complaints in another hearing of ſuch monſtrous injuries.

PART II.

A Letter to Mr. C. M.

Boſton, Jan. 11*th*, 1693.

Mr. COTTON MATHER,

REverend Sir, Finding it needful on many accounts, I here preſent you with the Copy of that paper, which has been ſo much miſrepreſented, to the end, that what ſhall be found defective or not fairly repreſented (if any ſuch ſhall appear) they may be ſet right, which runs thus :—

September the 13*th*, 1693.

IN the evening when the ſun was withdrawn, giving place to darkneſs to ſucceed, I with ſome others were drawn by curioſity to ſee Margaret Rule, and ſo much the rather, becauſe it was reported Mr. M——would be there that night : Being come to her father's houſe, into the chamber wherein ſhe was in bed, I found her of a healthy countenance, of

about

about ſeventeen years old, lying very ſtill, and ſpeaking very little ; what ſhe did ſay ſeemed as if ſhe were light-headed. Then Mr. M— (father and ſon) came up and others with them ; in the whole were about 30 or 40 perſons ; they being ſat, the father on the ſtool and the ſon upon the bedſide by her, the ſon began to queſtion her—Margaret Rule how do you do ; then a pauſe without any anſwer. Queſtion. What ! do there a great many Witches ſit upon you ? Anſwer. Yes. Q. Do you not know that there is a hard maſter ? Then ſhe was in a fit. He laid his hand upon her face and noſe, but as he ſaid without perceiving breath ; then he bruſhed her on the face with his glove, and rubbed her ſtomach (her breaſt not being covered with the bedcloaths) and bid others do ſo too, and ſaid it eaſed her—then ſhe revived. Q. Don't you know there is a hard maſter ? A. Yes. Reply —Don't ſerve that hard maſter—you know who. Q. Do you believe ? Then again ſhe was in a fit, and he again rubbed her breaſt, &c. About this time Margaret Perd, an attendant, aſſiſted him in rubbing of her. The afflicted ſpake angrily to her, ſaying, don't you meddle with me, and haſtily put away her hand. He then wrought his fingers before her eyes, and aſked her if ſhe ſaw the witches ? A. No. Q. Do you believe ? A. Yes. Q. Do you believe in you know who ? A. Yes. Q. Would you have other people do ſo too—to believe in you know who ? A. Yes. Q. Who is it that affiicts you ? A. I know not, there is a great

many

many of them. About this time the father queſtioned if ſhe knew the ſpectres? An attendant ſaid, if ſhe did ſhe would not tell. The ſon proceeded. Q. You have ſeen the black-man, have you not? A. No. Reply—I hope you never will. Q. You have had a book offered you, have you not? A. No. Q. The bruſhing of you gives you eaſe, don't it? A. Yes. She turned herſelf, and a little groaned. Q. Now the witches ſcratch you, and pinch you, and bite you, don't they? A. Yes. Then he put his hand upon her breaſt and belly, viz. on the cloaths over her, and felt a *living thing*, as he ſaid, which moved the father alſo to feel, and ſome others. Q. Don't you feel the *live thing* in the bed? A. No. Reply. That is only fancy. Q. The great company of people increaſe your torment, don't they? A. Yes. The people about were deſired to withdraw. One woman ſaid, I am ſure I am no Witch, I will not go, ſo others, ſo none withdrew. Q. Shall we go to prayers? Then ſhe lay in a fit as before. But this time, to revive her, they waved a hat and bruſhed her head and pillow therewith. Q. Shall we go to prayer, &c. ſpelling the word. A. Yes. The father went to prayer for perhaps half an hour, chiefly againſt the power of the devil and witchcraft, and that God would bring out the afflicters. During prayer-time, the ſon ſtood by, and when they thought ſhe was in a fit, rubbed her and bruſhed her as before, and beckoned to others to do the like. After prayer he proceeded.

Q.

Q. You did not hear when we were at prayer, did you? A. Yes. You don't hear always—you did not hear for ſometime paſt, a word or two, did you? A. No. then turning him about, ſaid, this is juſt another Mercy Short: Margaret Perd replied, ſhe was not like her in her fits. Q. What does ſhe eat or drink? A. She does not eat at all, but drinks *Rum*. Then he admoniſhed the young people to take warning, &c. ſaying it was a ſad thing to be ſo tormented by the devil and his inſtruments. A young-man preſent, in the habit of a Seaman, replied "*This is the Devil all over.*" Then the miniſters withdrew. Soon after they were gone the afflicted deſired the *women* to be gone, ſaying, that the company of the *men* was not offenſive to her, and having hold of the hand of a young-man, ſaid to have been her ſweet-heart formerly, who was withdrawing, ſhe pulled him again into his ſeat, ſaying he ſhould not go to night.

September the 19*th*, 1693.

THIS night I renewed my viſit, and found her rather of a freſher coutenance than before. About eight perſons were preſent with her. She was in a fit, ſcreaming and making a noiſe. Three or four perſons rubbed and bruſhed her with their hands—they ſaid that the bruſhing did put them away, if they bruſhed or rubbed in the *right place*; therefore they bruſhed and rubbed in ſeveral places, and ſaid that when they did it in the *right place* ſhe could fetch her breath, and by that they knew. She being come to herſelf was ſoon in a merry

talking

talking fit. A young-man came in and aſked her how ſhe did? She anſwered very bad, but at preſent a little better; he ſoon told her he muſt be gone, and bid her good night; at which ſhe ſeemed troubled, ſaying that ſhe liked his company, and ſaid ſhe would not have him go till ſhe was well; adding, for I ſhall die when you are gone. Then ſhe complained they did not put her on a clean cap, but let her lye ſo like a beaſt, ſaying ſhe ſhould loſe all her fellows. She ſaid ſhe wondered any people ſhould be ſo wicked as to think ſhe was not afflicted, but to think ſhe diſſembled. A young-woman anſwered, Yes, if they were to ſee you in this merry fit, they would ſay you diſſembled indeed. She replied, Mr. M— ſaid this was her laughing time, ſhe muſt laugh now: She ſaid Mr. M— had been there this evening, and ſhe enquired how long he had been gone? She ſaid he ſtayed alone with her in the room half an hour, and ſaid that he told her there were ſome that came for ſpies, and to report about town that ſhe was not afflicted. That during the ſaid time ſhe had no fit—that he aſked her if ſhe knew how many times he had prayed for her to day? And that ſhe anſwered, that ſhe could not tell; and that he replied, he had prayed for her nine times to day. The attendants ſaid that ſhe was ſometimes in a fit, that none could open her joints, and that there came an old *iron-jawed* woman and tryed, but could not do it; they likewiſe ſaid, that her head could not be moved from the pillow. I tried to move her

head,

head, and found no more difficulty than another perſons (and ſo did others) but was not willing to offend by lifting it up, one being reproved for endeavouring it, they ſaying angrily you will break her neck. The attendants, ſaid Mr. M— would not go to prayer with her when people were in the room, as they did one night—that night he felt the *live-creature*. Margaret Perd and another ſaid they ſmelt brimſtone. I and others ſaid we did not ſmell any—then they ſaid they did not know what it was: This Margaret ſaid ſhe wiſhed ſhe had been here when Mr. M— was here. Another attendant ſaid, if you had been here you might not have been permitted in, for her own mother was not ſuffered to be preſent.

Sir, after the ſoreſt affliction and greateſt blemiſh to religion that ever befel this country, and after moſt men began to fear that ſome undue ſteps had been taken, and after His Excellency (with their Majeſty's approbation as is ſaid) had put a ſtop to executions, and men began to hope there would never be a return of the like; finding theſe accounts to contain in them ſomething extraordinary, I writ them down the ſame nights in order to attain the certainty of them, and ſoon found them ſo confirmed that I have (beſides other demonſtrations) the whole under the hands of two perſons who are ready to atteſt the truth of it; but not ſatisfied herewith, I ſhewed them to ſome of your particular friends, that ſo I might have the greater certainty; but was much

ſurpriſed

ſurpriſed with the meſſage you ſent me, that I ſhould be arreſted for ſlander, and at your calling me one of the worſt of liars, making it pulpit-news, with the name of pernicious libels, &c. This occaſioned my firſt Letter.

September the 29th, 1693.

Reverend SIR,

I Having written from the mouths of ſeveral perſons, who affirm they were preſent with Margaret Rule the 13th inſtant, her anſwers and behaviour, &c. And having ſhewed it to ſeveral of my friends, as alſo your's, and underſtanding you are offended at it, this is to acquaint you that if you and any one particular friend will pleaſe to meet me and ſome other indifferent perſon with me at Mr. Wilkins's, or at Ben. Harris's, you intimating the time, I ſhall be ready there to read it to you, as alſo a further account of proceedings the 19th inſtant, which may be needful to prevent groundleſs prejudices, and let deſerved blame be caſt where it ought. From,

Sir, your's, in what I may, R. C.

The effects of which, Sir, (not to mention that long letter only once read to me) was, you ſent me word you would meet me at Mr. Wilkins's, but before that anſwer at your's and your father s complaint, I was brought before their Majeſty's Juſtice, by warrant, for ſcandalous libels againſt yourſelf, and was bound over to anſwer at ſeſſions. I do not remember you then objected againſt the truth of what I had wrote, but aſſerted it was wrong-

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ed by omiſſions; which if it were ſo, was paſt any power of mine to remedy, having given a faithful account of all that came to my knowledge: and, Sir, that you might not be without ſome cognizance of the reaſons why I took ſo much pains in it, as alſo for my own information, (if it might have been) I wrote to you my ſecond letter to this effect.

November the 24th, 1693.

Reverend Sir,

HAVING expected ſome weeks your meeting me at Mr. Wilkins' according to what you intimated to me, J. M—and the time drawing near for our meeting elſewhere, I thought it not amiſs to give you a ſummary of my thoughts in the great concern, which as you ſay has been agitated with ſo much heat. That there are Witches is not the doubt, the ſcriptures elſe where in vain, which aſſign their puniſhment to be by death; but what this Witchcraft is, or wherein it does conſiſt, ſeems to be the whole difficulty: and as it may be eaſily demonſtrated, that all that bear that name cannot be juſtly ſo accounted, ſo that ſome things and actions not ſo eſteemed by the moſt, yet upon due examination will be found to merit no better character.

In your late book you lay down a brief Synopſis of what has been written on that ſubject, by a triumvirate of as eminent men as ever handled it (as you are pleaſed to call them) viz. Mr. Perkins, Gaule, and Bernard, conſiſting of about 30 tokens to know them by, many of them diſtinct from, if not thwarting

each other: among all of which I can find but one deciſive, viz. That of Mr. Gaule, Head IV. and runs thus: Among the moſt unhappy circumſtances to convict a Witch, one is a maligning and oppugning the word, work, or worſhip of God, and by any extraordinary Sign ſeeking to ſeduce any from it, ſee Deu. 13. 1, 2. Mat. 24. 24. Acts. 13. 8, 10. 2 Tim. 3. 8. Do but mark well the places, and for this very property of thus oppoſing and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute Witches.

This Head as here laid down and inſerted by you, either is a truth or not, if not, why is it here inſerted from one of the Triumvirate? if it be a truth, as the Scriptures quoted will abundantly teſtify, whence is it that it is ſo little regarded, tho' it be the only head well proved by Scripture, or that the reſt of the Triumvirate ſhould ſo far forget their work as not to mention it? It were to be unjuſt to the memory of thoſe otherwiſe wiſe men, to ſuppoſe them to have any ſiniſter deſign; but perhaps the force of a prevailing opinion, together with an education thereto ſuited, might overſhadow their judgments, as being wont to be but too prevalent in many other caſes. But if the above be truth, then the Scripture is full and plain, what is Witchcraft? And if ſo, what need of his next head of hanging of people without as full and clear evidence as in other caſes? Or what need of the reſt of the receipts of the Triumvirate? What need of praying that the afflicted may be able to diſcover who

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it is that afflicts them? or what need of ſearching for teats for the Devil to ſuck in his old age, or the experiment of ſaying the Lord's Prayer, &c. Which a multitude more practiſed in ſome places ſuperſtitiouſly inclined. Other actions have been practiſed for eaſing the afflicted, leſs juſtifiable, if not ſtrongly ſavouring of Witchcraft itſelf, viz. Fondly imagining by the hand, &c. to drive off Spectres, or to knock off Inviſible Chains, or by ſtriking in the air to wound either the afflicted or others, &c. I write not this to accuſe any, but that all may beware believing, that the Devil's bounds are ſet, which he cannot paſs, that Devils are ſo full of malice, that it cannot be added to by mankind, that where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it, that it is only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can commiſſionate him to hurt or deſtroy any.

Theſe, laſt Sir, are ſuch foundations of truth, in my eſteem, that I cannot but own it to be my duty to aſſert them, when called, tho' with the hazard of my all: and conſequently to detect ſuch as theſe, that a Witch can commiſſionate Devils to afflict mortals, that he can at his or the Witches pleaſure aſſume any ſhape, that hanging or drowning of Witches can leſſen his power of afflicting, or reſtore thoſe that were at a diſtance tormented, with many others depending on theſe; all tending, in my eſteem, highly to the diſhonour of God, and the endangering the well-being of a people, and do further add, that as the Scriptures are

full

full that there is Witchcraft, (ut ſup.) ſo 'tis as plain that there are poſſeſſions, & that the bodies of the poſſeſt have hence been not only afflicted, but ſtrangely agitated, if not their tongues improved to foretell futurities, &c. And why not to accuſe the innocent, as bewitching them; having pretence to Divination to gain credence. This being reaſonable to be expected, from him who is the Father of Lies, to the end he may thereby involve a country in blood, malice, and evil, ſurmiſing which he greedily ſeeks after, and ſo finally lead them from their fear and dependance upon God to fear him, and a ſuppoſed Witch thereby attaining his end upon mankind; and not only ſo, but natural diſtemper, as has been frequently obſerved by the judicious, have ſo operated as to deceive, more than the vulgar, as is teſtified by many famous phyſicians, and others. And as for that proof of multitudes of confeſſions, this country may be by this time thought competent judges, what credence we ought to give them, having had ſuch numerous inſtances, as alſo how obtained.

And now, Sir, if herein be any thing in your eſteem valuable, let me intreat you, not to account it the worſe for coming from ſo mean a hand; which however you may have received prejudice, &c. Am ready to ſerve you to my power; but if you judge otherwiſe hereof, you may take your own methods for my better information. Who am, Sir, yours to command, in what I may, P. C.

In anſwer to this laſt, Sir, you replied to the gentleman

gentleman that preſented it, that you had nothing to proſecute againſt me; and ſaid as to your ſentiments in your books, you did not bind any to believe them, and then again renewed your promiſe of meeting me, as before, tho' not yet performed. Accordingly, tho' I waited at Seſſions, there was none to object ought againſt me, upon which I was diſmiſſed. This gave me ſome reaſon to believe that you intended all ſhould have been forgotten: But inſtead of that, I find the coals are freſh blown up, I being ſuppoſed to be repreſented, in a late manuſcript, More Wonders of the, &c. as traverſing your Diſcourſe in your faithful diſcharge of your duty, &c. And ſuch as ſee not with the author's eyes, rendered Saducees and Witlings, &c. and the arguments that ſquare not with the ſentiments therein contained, buffoonery; rarely no doubt, agreeing with the Spirit of Chriſt, and his dealings with an unbelieving Thomas, yet whoſe infidelity was without compare leſs excuſable, but the author having reſolved long ſince, to have no more than one ſingle grain of patience, with them that deny, &c. the wonder is the leſs. It muſt needs be that offences come, but wo to him by whom they come. To vindicate myſelf therefore from ſuch falſe imputations, of Satan-like inſinuations, and miſrepreſenting your actions, &c. and to vindicate yourſelf, Sir, as much as is in my power from thoſe ſuggeſtions, ſaid to be inſinuated, as if you wore not the modeſty, and gravity, that becomes a Miniſter of the Goſpel; which it ſeems, ſome that never ſaw

the ſaid Narratives, report them to contain ; I ſay, Sir, for theſe reaſons, I here preſent you with the firſt copy that ever was taken, &c. And purpoſe for a week's time to be ready, if you ſhall intimate your pleaſure to wait upon me, either at the place formerly appointed, or any other that is indifferent, to the end that if there ſhall appear any defects in that Narrative, they may be amended.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a genuine account of my ſentiments and actions in this affair ; and do requeſt and pray, that if I err, I may be ſhewed it from Scripture, or ſound Reaſon, and not by quotations out of Virgil, nor Spaniſh Rhetorick. For I find the Witlings mentioned, are ſo far from anſwering your profound queſtions, that they cannot ſo much as pretend to ſhew a diſtinction between Witchcraft in the common notion of it, and poſſeſſion ; nor ſo much as to demonſtrate that ever the Jews or primitive Chriſtians did believe, that a Witch could ſend a Devil to afflict her neighbours ; but to all theſe, Sir, (ye being the ſalt of the earth, &c.) I have reaſon to hope for a ſatisfactory anſwer to him, who is one that reverences your perſon and office ; and am, Sir, yours to Command in what I may, R. C.

Boſton, January the 15th, 1690.

Mr. R. C.

WHEREAS you intimate your deſires, that what is not fairly (I take it for granted you mean truly alſo,) repreſented in a paper you

you lately ſent me, containing a pretended narrative of a viſit by my father and ſelf to an afflicted young woman, whom we apprehend to be under a Diabolical Poſſeſſion, might be rectified: I have this to ſay, as I have often already ſaid, that do I ſcarcely find any one thing in the whole paper, whether reſpecting my father or ſelf, either fairly or truly repreſented. Nor can I think that any that know my parent's circumſtances, but muſt think him deſerving a better character by far, than this narrative can be thought to give him. When the main deſign we managed in viſiting the poor afflicted creature, was to prevent the accuſations of the neighbourhood; can it be fairly repreſented that our deſign was to draw out ſuch accuſations, which is the repreſentation of the paper. We have teſtimonies of the beſt witneſſes, and in number not a few, that when we aſked Rule whether ſhe thought ſhe knew who tormented her? the queſtion was but an introduction to the ſolemn charges which we then largely gave, that ſhe ſhould rather die than tell the names of any whom ſhe might imagine that ſhe knew. Your informers have reported the queſtion, and report nothing of what follows, as eſſential to the giving of that queſtion: and can this be termed a piece of fairneſs? Fair it cannot be, that when miniſters faithfully and carefully diſcharge their duty to the miſerable in their flock, little bits, ſcraps and ſhreds of their diſcourſes, ſhould be tacked together to make them contemptible, when there ſhall be

no notice of all the neceſſary, ſeaſonable, and profitable things that occured, in thoſe diſcourſes ; and without which, the occaſion of the leſſer paſſages cannot be underſtood ; and yet I am furniſhed with abundant evidences, ready to be ſworn, that will poſitively prove this part of unfairneſs, by the above mentioned narrative, to be done both to my father and ſelf. Again it ſeems not fair or reaſonable that I ſhould be expoſed, for which your ſelf (not to ſay ſome others) might have expoſed me for, if I had not done, viz. for diſcouraging ſo much company from flocking about the Poſſeſt Maid, and yet, as I perſuade myſelf, you cannot but think it to be good advice, to keep much company from ſuch haunted chambers ; beſides the unfairneſs doth more appear, in that I find nothing repeated of what I ſaid about the advantage, which the Devil takes from too much obſervation and curioſity.

In that ſeveral of the queſtions in the paper are ſo worded, as to carry in them a preſuppoſal of the things inquired after, to ſay the beſt of it is very unfair : but this is not all, the narrative contains a number of miſtakes and falſhoods ; which were they wilful and deſigned, might juſtly be termed groſs lies. The repreſentations are far from true, when 'tis affirmed my father and ſelf being come into the room, I began the diſcourſe ; I hope I underſtand breeding a little better than ſo : For proof of this, did occaſion ſerve, ſundry can depoſe the contrary.

'Tis

'Tis no leſs untrue, that either my father or ſelf put the queſtion, how may Witches ſit upon you? We always cautiouſly avoided that expreſſion, it being contrary to our inward belief: All the ſtanders by will (I believe) ſwear they did not hear us uſe it (your witneſſes excepted) and I tremble to think how hardy thoſe woful creatures muſt be, to call the Almighty by an oath, to ſo falſe a thing. As falſe a repreſentation 'tis, that I rubbed Rule's ſtomach, her breaſt not being covered. The oath of the neareſt ſpectators, giving a true account of that matter will prove this to be little leſs than a groſs (if not a doubled) lie; and to be ſomewhat plainer, it carries the face of a lie contrived on purpoſe (by them at leaſt, to whom you are beholden for the narrative) wickedly and baſely to expoſe me. For you cannot but know how much this repreſentation hath contributed, to make people believe a ſmutty thing of me, I am far from thinking, but that in your own conſcience you believe, that no indecent action of that nature could then be done by me before ſuch obſervers, had I been ſo wicked as to have been inclined to what is baſe. It looks next to impoſſible that a reparation ſhould be made me for the wrong done to, (I hope, as to any ſcandal) an unblemiſhed, tho' weak and ſmall ſervant of the Church of God. Nor is what follows a leſs untruth, that it was an attendant and not myſelf who ſaid, if Rule knows who afflicts her, yet ſhe wont tell. I therefore ſpoke it that I might encourage her to continue in

that

that concealment of all names whatſoever ; to this I am able to furniſh myſelf with the atteſtation of ſufficient oaths. 'Tis as far from true, that my apprehenſion of the Imp, about Rule, was on her Belly, for the oaths of the ſpectators, and even of thoſe that thought they felt it, can teſtify that it was upon the pillow, at a diſtance from her body. As untrue a repreſentation is that which follows, viz. That it was ſaid unto her, that her not apprehending of that odd, palpable, tho' not viſible, mover was from her fancy, for I endeavoured to perſuade her that it might be but fancy in others, that there was any ſuch thing at all. Witneſſes every way ſufficient can be produced for this alſo. It is falſely repreſented that my Father felt on the young woman after the appearance mentioned, for his hand was never near her ; oath can ſufficiently vindicate him. 'Tis very untrue, that my father prayed for perhaps half an hour, againſt the power of the Devil and Witchcraft, and that God would bring out the afflictors. Witneſſes of the beſt credit can depoſe, that his prayer was not a quarter of an hour, and that there was no more than about one clauſe towards the cloſe of the prayer, which was of this import ; and this clauſe alſo was guarded with a ſingular warineſs and modeſty, viz. If there were any evil inſtruments in this matter, God would pleaſe to diſcover them : and that there was more than common reaſon for that petition I can ſatisfy any one that will pleaſe to inquire of me. And ſtrange it is, that a gentleman

that

that from 18 to 54 hath been an exemplary Miniſter of the Goſpel; and that beſides a ſtation in the Church of God, as conſiderable as any that his own country can afford, hath for divers years come off with honour, in his application to three Crowned Heads, and the chiefeſt Nobility of three Kingdoms, knows not yet how to make one ſhort prayer of a quarter of an hour, but in New-England he muſt be libelled for it. There are divers others down right miſtakes, which you have permitted yourſelf, I would hope, not knowingly, and with a malicious deſign, to be receiver or compiler of, which I ſhall now forbear to animadvert upon. As for the Appendix of the Narrative I do find myſelf therein injuriouſly treated, for the utmoſt of your proof for what you ſay of me, amounts to little more than, viz. Some People told you, that others told them, that ſuch and ſuch things did paſs; but you may aſſure yourſelf, that I am not unfurniſhed with witneſſes, that can convict the ſame. Whereas you would give me to believe the bottom of theſe your methods, to be ſome diſſatisfaction about the commonly received power of Devils and Witches; I do not only with all freedom offer you the uſe of any part of my library, which you may ſee cauſe to peruſe on that ſubject, but alſo if you and any one elſe, whom you pleaſe, will viſit me at my ſtudy, yea, or meet me at any other place, leſs inconvenient than thoſe by you propoſed, I will with all the fairneſs and calmneſs in the world diſpute the point. I beg of

God

God that he would beſtow as many bleſſings on you, as ever on myſelf, and out of a ſincere wiſh, that you may be made yet more capable of theſe bleſſings, I take this occaſion to lay before you the faults (not few nor ſmall ones neither) which the paper contained you lately ſent me, in order to be examined by me. In caſe you want a true and full narrative of my viſit, whereof ſuch an indecent traverſty (to ſay the beſt) hath been made, I am not unwilling to communicate it, in mean time muſt take liberty to ſay, it is ſcarcely conſiſtent with common civility, much leſs chriſtian charity, to offer the narrative, now with you, for a true one, till you have a truer, or for a full one, till you have a fuller. Your ſincere (tho injured) friend and ſervant,

C. MATHER.

The Copy of a Paper Received with the above Letter.

I DO teſtify that I have ſeen Margaret Rule in her afflictions from the inviſible world, lifted up from her bed, wholly by an inviſible force, a great way towards the top of the room where ſhe lay; in her being ſo lifted, ſhe had no aſſiſtance from any uſe of her own arms or hands, or any other part of her body, not ſo much as her heels touching her bed, or reſting on any ſupport whatſoever. And I have ſeen her thus lifted, when not only a ſtrong perſon hath thrown his whole weight a croſs her to pull her down; but ſeveral other perſons have endeavoured, with all their might, to hinder

her

her from being ſo raiſed up, which I ſuppoſe that ſeveral others will teſtify as well as well as myſelf, when called unto it. Witneſs my hand,

SAMUEL AVES.

WE can alſo teſtify to the ſubſtance of what is above written, and have ſeveral times ſeen *Margaret Rule* ſo lifted up from her bed, as that ſhe had no uſe of her own limbs to help her up, but it was the declared apprehenſion of us, as well as others that ſaw it, impoſſible for any hands, but ſome of the Inviſible World to lift her.

ROBERT EARLE.
JOHN WILKINS.
DAN. WILLIAMS.

Copy

WE, whoſe names are under-written, do teſtify, That one evening when we were in the chamber where *Margaret Rule* then lay, in her late affliction, we obſerved her to be, by an inviſible force, lifted up from the bed whereon ſhe lay, ſo as to touch the garret floor, while yet neither her feet, nor any other part of her body reſted either on the bed, or any other ſupport, but were alſo by the ſame force, lifted up from all that was under her, and all this for a conſiderable while, we judged it ſeveral minutes; and it was as much as ſeveral of us could do, with all our ſtrength to pull her down. All which happened when there was not only we two in the

chamber, but we ſuppoſe ten or a dozen more, whoſe names we have forgotten,

THOMAS THORNTON,
Copy WILLIAM HUDSON,
Teſtifies to the ſubſtance of Thornton's *Teſtimony, to which he alſo hath ſet his hand.*

Boſton, January 18, 1693.

Mr. Cotton Mather,

Reverend Sir,

YOURS of the 15th inſtant, I received yeſterday; and ſoon found I had promiſed myſelf too much by it, *viz.* Either concurrence with, or a denial of thoſe fundamentals mentioned in mine, of November the 24th. Finding this waved by an invitation to your Library, &c. I thank God I have the Bible, and do judge that ſufficient to demonſtrate that cited head of Mr. *Gaule*, to be a truth, as alſo thoſe other heads mentioned, as the foundations of religion. And in my apprehenſion, if it be aſked any chriſtian, whether God governs the world, and whether it be he only can commiſſionate Devils, and ſuch other fundamentals, he ought to be as ready as in the queſtion, who made him? (a little writing certainly might be of more uſe, to clear up the controverted points, than either looking over many books in a well finiſhed library, or than a diſpute, if I were qualified for it; the inconveniencies of paſſion being this way beſt avoided.) And am not without hopes that you will yet oblige

me

me ſo far, as to conſider that letter, and if I err, to let me ſee it by ſcripture, &c.

Yours, almoſt the whole of it, is concerning the narrative I ſent to you, and you ſeem to intimate as if I were giving characters, reflections, and libels, &c. concerning yourſelf and relations; all which were as far from my thoughts, as ever they were in writing after either yourſelf, or any other miniſter. In the front you declare your apprehenſion to be, that the afflicted was under a diabolical poſſeſſion, and if ſo, I ſee not how it ſhould be occaſioned by any Witchcraft (unleſs we aſcribe that power to a witch, which is only the prerogative of the Almighty, of ſending or commiſſionating the Devils to afflict her.) But to your particular objections againſt the narrative; and to the firſt my intelligence not giving me any further, I could not inſert that I knew not. And it ſeems improbable that a queſtion ſhould be put, whether ſhe knew (or rather who they were) and at the ſame time to charge her, and that upon her life, not to tell, and if you had done ſo, I ſee but little good you could promiſe yourſelf or others by it, ſhe being poſſeſt, as alſo having it inculcated ſo much to her of Witchcraft. And as the next objection about company flocking, &c. I profeſs my ignorance, not knowing what you mean by it. And Sir, that moſt of the queſtions did carry with them a preſuppoſing the things enquired after, is evident, if there were ſuch as thoſe relating to the *black-man* and a book, and about her hearing the Prayer, &c. (related in the ſaid narrative, which I find no objection

jection againſt.) As to that which is ſaid of mentioning yourſelf firſt diſcourſing, and your hopes that your breeding was better (I doubt it not) nor do I doubt your father might firſt apply himſelf to others ; but my intelligence is, that you firſt ſpake to the afflicted or poſſeſſed, for which you had the advantage of a nearer approach. The next two objections are founded upon miſtakes : I find not in the narrative any ſuch queſtions, as how many witches ſit upon you ? and that her breaſt was not covered, in which thoſe material words, (with the bed-clothes) are wholly omitted ; I am not willing to retort here your own language upon you ; but can tell you, that your own diſcourſe of it publicly, at Sir *W. P*'s table, has much more contributed to, &c. As to the reply, if ſhe could ſhe would not tell, whether either or both ſpake it, it matters not much. Neither does the narrative ſay you felt the live thing on her belly ; though I omit now to ſay what further demonſtrations there are of it. As to that reply, that is only her fancy, I find the word (her) added. And as to your father's feeling for the live creature after you had felt it, if it were on the bed it was not ſo very far from her. And for the length of his prayer, poſſibly your witneſſes might keep a more exact account of the time than thoſe others, and I ſtand not for a few minutes. For the reſt of the objections I ſuppoſe them of leſs moment, if leſs can be (however ſhall be ready to receive them, thoſe matters of greateſt concern I find no objections againſt) theſe being that yet appear, it may be thought

that

that if the narrative be not fully exact, it was as near as memory could bear away; but ſhould be glad to ſee one more perfect (which yet is not to be expected, ſeeing none write at the ſame time.) You mention the appendix, by which I underſtand the ſecond viſit, and if you be by the poſſeſſed belyed (as being half an hour with her alone (excluding her own mother) and as telling her you had prayed for her nine times that day, and that now was her laughing time, ſhe muſt laugh now.) I can ſee no wonder in it; what can be expected leſs from the father of lies, by whom, you judge, ſhe was poſſeſt.

And beſides the above letter, you were pleaſed to ſend me another paper containing ſeveral teſtimonies of the poſſeſſed being lifted up, and held a ſpace of ſeveral minutes to the garret floor, &c. but they omit giving the account, whether after ſhe was down they bound her down: or kept holding her: And relate not how many were to pull her down, which hinders the knowledge what number they muſt be to be ſtronger than an Inviſible force. Upon the whole, I ſuppoſe you expect I ſhould believe it; and if ſo, the only advantage gained, is that which has been ſo long controverted between Proteſtants and Papiſts, whether miracles are ceaſt, will hereby ſeem to be decided for the latter; it being, for ought I can ſee, if ſo, as true a miracle as for iron to ſwim, and the Devil can work ſuch miracles.

But Sir, leave theſe little diſputable things, I do again pray that you would let me have the happineſs

pineſs of your approbation or confutation of that letter before referred to.

And now, Sir, that the God of all Grace may enable us zealouſly to own his truths, and to follow thoſe things that tend to peace, and that yourſelf may be as an uſeful inſtrument in his hand, effectually to ruin the remainder of Heatheniſh and Popiſh Superſtitions, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of yours to command, in what I may.

R. C.

Poſtſcript—Sir, I here ſend you the Copy of a paper that lately came to my hands, which though it contains no wonders, yet is remarkable, and runs thus.

An account of what an *Indian* told Captain *Hill*, at *Saco-Fort*.

THE Indian *told him that the* French *Miniſters were better than the Engliſh, for before the* French *came among them there were a great many Witches among the* Indians, *but now there were none, and there were Witches among the* Engliſh *Miniſters, as* Burroughs, *who was hang'd for it.*

Were I diſpoſed to make reflections upon it, I ſuppoſe you will judge the field large enough, but I forbear, as above. R. C.

Boſton, Feb. 19, 1693.

Mr. Cotton Mather,

REVEREND Sir, having received as yet no anſwer to mine of November the 24th,

except

except an offer to peruſe books, &c. relating to the doctrinals therein contained : Nor to my laſt of January the 18th. in which I again prayed that if I err'd I might be ſhewed by Scripture, *viz.* in believing that the Devil's bounds are ſet, which he cannot paſs ; that the Devils are ſo full of malice, that it can't be allowed by mankind : That where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it ; that it is only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and who only can commiſſion him to hurt or deſtroy any ; and conſequently to deteſt as erroneous and dangerous, the belief that a witch can commiſſion Devils to afflict mortals ; that he can at his or at the witches' pleaſure aſſume any ſhape : the hanging or chaining of Witches can leſſen his power of afflicting, and reſtore thoſe that were, at a diſtance, tormented by him. And whether witchcraft ought to be underſtood now in this age, to be the ſame that it was when the divine oracles were given forth, particularly thoſe quoted by Mr. *Gaule*, in that cited head, *Wonders of the Inviſible World* ; Mr. *Gaules* IV. Head, to diſcover witches, which do ſo plainly ſhew a witch, in Scripture-ſenſe to be one that malignes, &c. and that pretend to give a ſign in order to ſeduce, &c. For I have never underſtood in my time, any ſuch have ſuffered as witches, though ſufficiently known ; but the only witch now enquired after, is one that is ſaid to become ſo by making an explicit covenant with the Devil, *i. e.* the Devil appearing to them, and making a compact mutually, promiſing each to other, teſtified by their ſigning his book, a material

terial book, which he is ſaid to keep, and that thereby they are intituled to a power, not only to afflict others, but ſuch as is truly exorbitant, if not highly intrenching upon the prerogative of him, who is the Sovereign being; for who is he that ſaith, and it cometh to paſs, when the Lord commandeth it not.

Such explicit covenant being as is ſaid in this age reckoned eſſential to compleat a witch: yet I finding nothing of ſuch covenant (or power thereby obtained) in Scripture, and yet a witch therein ſo fully deſcribed, do pray that if there be any ſuch Scriptures I may be directed to them, for as to the many legends in this caſe I make no account of them; I read indeed of a covenant with death and with hell, but ſuppoſe that to be in the heart (or *mental*) only, and ſee not what uſe ſuch an explicit one can be of between ſpirits, any further than as 'tis a copy of that *mental* which is in the heart. The dire effects and conſequences of ſuch notion may be found written in indelible *Roman* characters of blood in all countries where they have prevailed, and what can leſs be expected when men are indictated for that, which, as it is impoſſible to prove ſo, for any to clear himſelf of, *viz.* Such explicit covenant with the Devil, and then for want of better evidence, muſt take up with ſuch as the nature of ſuch ſecret covenant can bear, as Mr. *Gaule* hath it, *i. e.* diſtracted ſtories, and ſtrange and foreign events, &c. Thereby endeavouring to find it, though by its but ſuppoſed effects; by the ſame rules that one is put to purge himſelf of ſuch compact, by the ſame may all mankind.

This then being ſo important a caſe, it concerns all to know what foundations in ſcripture is laid for ſuch a ſtructure ; for if they are deficient of that warrant, the more eminent the architects are the more dangerous are they thereby rendered, &c. Theſe are ſuch conſiderations as I think will vindicate me in the eſteem of all lovers of humanity, in my endeavours to get them cleared. And to that end, do once more pray, that you would ſo far oblige me as to give your approbation or confutation of the above doctrinals ; but if you think ſilence a virtue in this caſe, I ſhall (I ſuppoſe) ſo far comply with it as not to loſe you any more time to look over my papers. And if any others will ſo far oblige me, I ſhall not be ungrateful to them ; praying God to guide and proſper you, I am, Sir, yours to my power,

R. C.

(He that doth Truth, cometh to the Light.)

Boſton, April the 16th, 1694.

Mr. Cotton Mather.

Reverend Sir,

HAVING as yet received no anſwer to my laſt, touching the doctrinals therein referred to, though at the delivery of it, you were pleaſed to promiſe the gentleman that preſented it, that I ſhould have it, and after that you acquainted the ſame gentleman you were about it. The length of time ſince thoſe promiſes, makes me ſuppoſe you are preparing ſomething for the Preſs for I would not queſtion your veracity,

and

and think it may not be amiſs, when you do any thing of that nature for the public view, that you alſo explain ſome paſſages of ſome late books of yours and your relations, which are hard to be underſtood, to inſtance in a few of many wonders of the *Inviſible World*, pag. 17. Plagues *are ſome of thoſe woes with which the Devil cauſes our trouble*, pag. 18. *Hence come ſuch plagues as that beſom of deſtruction which within our memory ſwept away ſuch a throng of people from one Engliſh city, in one viſitation.* Wars *are ſome of thoſe woes with which the Devil cauſes our trouble*, pag. 16. *Hence 'tis that the Devil like a Dragon keeping a Guard upon ſuch fruits as would refreſh a languiſhing world, has hindred mankind for many ages from hitting upon thoſe uſeful inventions. The benighted world muſt jogg on for thouſands of years, without the knowledge of the load-ſtone. Printing and ſpectacles*, pag. 10. *It is not likely that every Devil does know every language. 'Tis poſſible the experience, or if I may call it ſo, the education of all Devils is not alike* ; Caſes of conſcience, page 63. *The Devil has inflicted on many the diſeaſe called the* Lycanthropia.

Memor. provid. Relat. To Witch diſc. page 24. *I am alſo apt to think that the Devils are ſeldom able to hurt us in any of our exterior concerns, without a Commiſſion from ſome of our fellow worms. When foul mouth'd men ſhall wiſh harm to their neighbours, they give a commiſſion to the Devil to perform what they deſire, and if God ſhould not mercifully prevent, they would go through with it ; hear this you that in wild paſſion will give every thing*

to

to the Devil; *Hear it you that beſpeak a rot, a pox, or a plague, on all that ſhall provoke you*; *I here indict you as guilty of helliſh witchcraft in the ſight of God.* More Wonders of the Inviſible World, *pag.* 49. *They each of them have their ſpectres or devils commiſſioned by them, and repreſenting them,* pag. 14. *But ſuch a permiſſion from God for the Devil to come down and break in upon mankind, muſt often times be accompanied with a commiſſion from ſome of mankind itſelf,* inchantments encountered. *Theſe Witches have driven a trade of commiſſioning their confederate ſpirits, to do all ſorts of miſchiefs to their neighbours,* pag. 50. *They have bewitched ſome even ſo far, as to make them ſelf-deſtroyers, pag.* 144. *As I am abundantly ſatisfied, that many of the ſelf-murders committed here, have been the effects of a cruel and bloody Witchcraft, letting fly* Dæmons *upon the miſerable Seneca's, pag.* 51. *We have ſeen ſome of their children dedicated to the Devil, that in their infancy the Imps have ſucked them.* Caſes of conſcience, *pag.* 24. *They bequeath their* Dæmons *to the children as a legacy, by whom they are often aſſiſted to ſee and do things beyond the power of nature, pag.* 21. *There is in* Spain *a ſort of people called* Zahurs, *that can ſee into the bowels of the earth.* *On* Tueſdays *and* Fridays, and to add that in pag. 49. The words are [*For the law of God allows of no Revelation from any other ſpirit but himſelf, Iſa.* viii. 19. *It is a ſin againſt God to make uſe of the Devils help, to know that which cannot be otherways known*; *and I teſtify againſt it as a great tranſgreſſion, which may juſtly provoke that holy one of* Iſrael, *to let looſe Devils on the whole land.* Although

though the Devil's acculation may be ſo far regarded, as to cauſe an inquiry into the truth of things, *Job.* i. 11, 12, and ii, 5, 6. *Yet not ſo as to be an evidence or ground of conviction, for the Devil's teſtimony ought not to be taken in WHOLE nor in PART.*] It is a known truth, that ſome unwary expreſſions of the primative fathers, were afterwards improved for the introducing and eſtabliſhing of error, as their calling the *Virgin Mary*, the mother of God, &c. Hence occaſion and advantage was taken to propagate the idolizing of her (the like might be ſaid of the *Euchariſt*, theſe aſſertions, above rehearſed, being apparently liable to a like mal-conſtruction, and no leſs dangerous, are therefore as I ſaid highly needful to be explained, and that in a moſt publick manner. For were they to be underſtood litterally and as they are ſpoken, it muſt ſeem as if the authors were introducing among chriſtians very dangerous doctrines, ſuch as were they aſſerted by the beſt of men, yet ought to be rejected by all,&c. *viz.* That 'tis the Devil that brings the moſt of evils upon mankind, by way of infliction, that do befall them; and that the witch can commiſſion him to the performance of theſe, with many others as dangerous doctrines, and ſuch as ſeem in their tendency to look favourably upon the antient *Pagan* doctrines of this country, who believed that God did hurt to none, but good to all, but that the Devil muſt be pleaſed by worſhipping, &c. From whom came all their miſeries, as they believed. For what were all this but to rob God of his glory in the higheſt manner,

ner, and giving it to a Devil and a witch. Is it not he that has ſaid, ſhall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it? But if any are fond of their own notions becauſe ſome eminent men have before now aſſerted them; they may do well to compare them with that excellent ſaying, *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, pag. 7. *About this Devil there are many things, whereof we may reaſonably and profitably be inquiſitive, ſuch things I mean as are in our Bibles revealed to us; according to which if we do not ſpeak on ſo dark a ſubject, but according to our own uncertain and perhaps humourſome conjectures, there is no light in us.* Or that other, pag. 75. *A every other weapon the Devil will be too hard for us.* For 'tis moſt certain that other notions, weapons and practices, have been taken up with; and that the event has been anſwerable, the Devil has been too hard for ſuch as have ſo done. I ſhall forbear to inſtance from the dogmatical part, and ſhall mention ſome practices that as much need explaining. *Mem. provid. Relat. to Witch. pag.* 29, 30, 31. Where account is given that it was prayed for that the afflicted might be able to declare, whom ſhe apprehended herſelf afflicted by, together with the immediate anſwer of ſuch prayer. To this you once replied when it was mentioned to you, that you did not then underſtand the wiles of Satan.

To which I have nothing to object, but it might be a good acknowledgment; but conſidering that the book is gone forth into all the

world, I cannot but think the ſalve ought to be proportioned to the ſore, and the notice of the Devil's wiles as univerſal, as the means recommending them. Another practice is pag. 20, 21. *There was one ſingular paſſion that frequently attended her, an inviſible chain would be clapt about her, and ſhe in much pain and fear cry out when they began to put it on, once I did with my own hand knock it off as it began to be faſtened about her.* If this were done by the power or virtue of any ordinance of divine inſtruction, it is well, but would have been much better if the inſtitution had been demonſtrated, or was there any phyſical virtue in that particular hand? But ſuppoſing that neither of theſe will be aſſerted by the author, I think it very requiſite, that the world may be acquainted with the operation, and to what art or craft to refer their power of knocking off inviſible chains.

And thus, Sir, I have faithfully diſcharged (what in this I took to be my duty) and am ſo far from doing it to gain applauſe, or from a ſpirit of contradiction, that I expect to procure me many enemies thereby, (but as in caſe of a fire) where the glory of God, and the good and welfare of mankind are ſo nearly concerned, I thought it my duty to be no longer an idle ſpectator; and can, and do ſay, to the glory of God, in this whole affair, I have endeavoured to keep a conſcience void of offence, both towards God and towards man; and therein at the leaſt have the advantage of ſuch as are very jealous they have done ſo much herein, as to ſin in what they

have

have done, *viz.* In ſheltring the accuſed, ſuch have been the cowardice and fearfulneſs, into which a regard to the diſſatisfaction of other people have precipitated them; which by the way muſt needs acquaint all, that for the future other meaſures are reſolved upon (by ſuch) which how bloody they may prove when opportunity ſhall offer, is with him who oders all things, according to the counſel of his own will: and now that the ſong of angels may be the emulation of men, is the earneſt deſire, and prayer, of Sir, yours to command in what I may, R. C.

Glory to God in the Higheſt, and on Earth Peace and good will towards men.

Boſton, March the 1ſt. 1694.

Mr. B.—*Worthy Sir,*

AFTER more than a year's waiting for the performance of a reiterated promiſe from one under ſingular obligations, and a multitude of advantages to have done it ſooner, the utmoſt compliance I have met with is (by your hands) the ſight of four ſheets of reſcinded papers, but I muſt firſt be obliged to return them in a fortnight, and not copied, which I have now complied with: And having read them, am not at all ſurprized at the Author's caution in it, not to admit of ſuch crude matter and impertinent abſurdities, as are to be found in it. He ſeems concerned that I take no notice of his ſeveral books, wherein, as he ſaith, he has unanſwerably proved

things

things to which I might reply, that I have ſent him letters of quotations out of thoſe books, to know how much of them he will abide by, for I thought it hard to affix their natural conſequences till he had opportunity to explain them. And ſaith that he had ſent me Mr. Baxter's *World of Spirits* an ungainſayable book, &c. (though I know no ungainſayable book but the bible) which book, I think, no man that has read it, will give ſuch a title to but the author; he ſpeaks of my reproaching his public Sermons, of which I am not conſcious to myſelf, unleſs it be about his interpretation of a thunder ſtorm (that broke into his houſe) which ſavoured ſo much of enthuſiaſm.

As to thoſe papers, I have (as I read them) noted in the margin where, in a haſty reading, I thought it needful, of which it were unreaſonable for to complain; ſeeing I might not take a copy, thereby to have been enabled, more at leiſure to digeſt what were needful to be ſaid on ſo many heads; and as I have not flattered him; ſo for telling what was ſo needful, with the hazard of making ſo many enemies by it, I have approved myſelf one of his beſt friends: And beſides his own ſenſe of the weakneſs of his anſwer, teſtified by the prohibition above, he has wholly declined anſwering to moſt of thoſe things that I had his promiſe for, and what he pretends to ſpeak to, after mentioning, without the needful anſwer or proof drops it.

His firſt main work is after his definition of a Witch, which he never proves (without ſaying any

thing

thing to Mr *Gaul*'s ſcriptural deſcription, though ſo often urged to it, and though himſelf has in his Book recommended and quoted it) is to magnify the devil's power, and that as I think beyond and againſt the ſcripture, this takes him up about 11 Pages, and yet in Page 22 again returns to it, and as *I* underſtand it, takes part with the Phariſees againſt our Saviour in the argument, for they charge him that he caſt out Devils through Beelzebub ; Our Saviour's anſwer is, *Mat.* xii. 25. *Every kingdom divided againſt itſelf is brought to deſolation : and every city or houſe, divided againſt itſelf, ſhall not ſtand, and if Satan caſt out Satan, he is divided againſt himſelf, how ſhall then his kingdom ſtand* : And yet notwithſtanding this anſwer together with what follows, for further illuſtration, our author is it ſeems reſolved to aſſert, that our Saviour did not in this anſwer deny that many did ſo, (*viz.*) caſt out Devils by Beelzebub, and Page 23 grants that the Devils have a miraculous power, but yet muſt not be called miracles, and yet can be diſtinguiſhed, as he intimates, only by the conſcience or light within, to the no ſmall ſcandal of the chriſtian religion.

Though our Saviour and his Apoſtles account this the chief or principal proof of his Godhead; *John* xx. 30, 31. *John* x. 37, 38. *John* v. 30. *Mark* xvi. 17, 18. *Acts* ii. 22. and iv. 30. with many others and that miracles belong only to God, who alſo governs the world, *Pſal.* cxxxvi. 4. *Jer.* xiv. 22. *Iſa.* xxxviii. 8. *Pſal.* lxii. 11. *Lam.* iii. 37. *Amos* iii. 6. But to forbear quoting that

which the ſcripture is moſt full in, do only ſay that he that dares aſſert the devil to have ſuch a miraculous power had need have other ſcriptures than ever I have ſeen. In page 12, our author proceeds and ſtates a queſtion to this effect; If the devil has ſuch powers, and cannot exert them without permiſſion from God, what can the witch contribute thereunto? Inſtead of an anſwer, to this weighty objection, our author firſt concedes that the devils do ordinarily exert their powers, without the witches contributing to it, but yet that to the end to increaſe their guilt he may cheat a witch, by making her believe herſelf the author of them. His next is, if witchcraft be, as I ſuppoſe it is, the ſkill of applying the plaſtic ſpirit of the world, &c. then the conſent of the witch doth naturally contribute to that miſchief that the devil does. And his laſt anſwer runs to this effect, Is it not the ordination of God, that where the devil can get the conſent of a witch for the hurting of others, the hurt ſhall as certainly be as if they had ſet maſtiff dogs upon them, or had given them poiſon into thair bowels; and God's providence muſt be as great in delivering from one as from the other, and this it ſeems is not only his belief, but the moſt orthodox and the moſt learned anſwer that our author could pitch upon. If witchcraft be as I ſuppoſe it is, *&c.* and is it not the ordination of God, that, *&c.* What is all this but precarious, and begging the queſtion, and a plain dropping the argument he cannot manage; however, to amuſe the ignorant,

rant, and to confound the learned, he hooks in a cramp word, if not a nonentity, *viz.* plaſtic ſpirit of the world, for who is it either knows that there is a plaſtic ſpirit, or what it is, or how this can any way ſerve his purpoſe.

He then proceeds to ſcripture inſtances of witches, &c. and where I thought it needful, I have, as I ſaid, ſhewed my diſſent from his judgment. He accounts it unreaſonable to be held to the proof of his definition of a witch, which he makes to conſiſt in a covenant with the devil, and chuſes rather a tedious proceſs about a piſtol to defend him from it, which indeed is one particular way whereby murder has been committed, and ſo the doer becomes culpable; but his definition of a witch, which as I ſaid, ſtill remains to be proved, is to this effect, that a witch is one that covenants with, and commiſſions devils to do miſchiefs, that ſhe is one in covenant, or that by virtue of ſuch covenant ſhe can commiſſion him to kill. The not bringing ſcripture to prove theſe two, is a ſufficient demonſtration there is none; and ſo that our author leaves off juſt where he began, *viz.* in a bare aſſertion, together with his own biggoted experiences, hinting alſo at multitudes of hiſtories to confirm him in the belief of his definition. Here being all that I take notice of to be conſiderable.

And now, Sir, if you think fit, improve your friendſhip with the author for the glory of God, the ſovereign Being, the good and welfare of mankind, and for his real and true intereſt, as you ſee

it

it convenient, put him in mind, that the glory of God is the end why mankind was made, and why he hath ſo many advantages to it. That the flames we have ſeen threatning the utter extirpation of the country, muſt own their original to theſe dangerous errors (if not hereſies) which if they remain unextinguiſhed, may and moſt likely will be acted over again.

That it is more honour to own an error in time, than tenaciouſly after full conviction to retain it. But if our author will again vindicate ſuch matters, pleaſe to acquaint him, that I ſhall not any more receive his papers, if I may not copy and uſe them; and that when he does, inſtead of ſuch abſtruſe matters, I ſtill pray his determination in thoſe things I have his promiſe for. And thus begging pardon for thus long detaining you, I am, Sir, yours to command,

R. C.

Boſton, March 18, 1694.

To the Miniſters, whether Engliſh, French, *or* Dutch,

I Having had not only occaſion, but renewed provocation, to take a view of the myſterious doctrines, which have of late been ſo much conteſted among us, could not meet with any that had ſpoken more, or more plainly the ſenſe of thoſe doctrines (relating to the witchcraft) than the Rev. Mr. *C. M.* but how clearly and conſiſtent, either with himſelf or the truth, I need not

now

now ſay, but cannot but ſuppoſe his ſtrenuous and zealous aſſerting his opinions, has been one cauſe of the diſmal convulſions we have here lately fallen into ; ſuppoſing that his books of *Memorable Providences*, relating to witchcraft, as alſo his *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, did contain in them things not warrantable, and very dangerous, I ſent to him a letter of quotations out of thoſe books, &c.

That ſo if it might have been, I might underſtand what tolerable ſenſe he would put upon his own words, which I took to be a better way of proceeding, than to have affixed what I thought to be their natural conſequences, and leſt I might be judged a ſceptic I gave him a full and free account of my belief relating to thoſe doctrines, together with the grounds thereof; and prayed him that if I erred I might be ſhewed it by ſcripture, and this I had his reiterated promiſe for. But after more than a years waiting for the performance thereof, all that is done in compliance therewith, is that in Feb. laſt, he ſent me four ſheets of his writing as his belief, but before I might receive it I muſt engage to deliver it back in a fortnight and not copied. A ſummary account of which I ſhall give you, when I have firſt acquainted you what the doctrines were which I ſent to him for his concurrence with, or confutation of, and to which I had his promiſe, as above.

Theſe by way of queſtion, *viz.* whether that fourth head cited and recommended by himſelf (In *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, of Mr. *Gaule*)

ought

ought to be believed as a truth, which runs thus; Among the moſt unhappy circumſtances to convict a witch, one is a maligning and oppunging the word, work, and worſhip of God, and ſeeking by any extraordinary ſign to ſeduce any from it, *Deut.* xiii. 1, 2. *Mat.* xxiv. 24. *Acts* xiii. 8, 10. 2 *Tim.* iii. 8. do but mark well the places, and for this very property of thus oppoſing and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute witches.

And if in witchcraft the devil by means of a witch does the miſchief, how it is poſſible to diſtinguiſh it from poſſeſſion, both being ſaid to be performed by the devil, and yet without an infallible diſtinction there can be no certainty in judgment. And whether it can be proved that the Jewiſh Church in any age before, or in our Saviour's time, even in the time of their greateſt apoſtacy did believe that a witch had power to commiſſion devils to do miſchief.

So much to the queſtions. Theſe were ſent as my belief: That the devil's bounds are ſet, that he cannot paſs; that the devils are ſo full of malice, that it cannot be added to by mankind; that where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it; that it is only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can commiſſion him to hurt or deſtroy. And now I ſhall give you the ſummary account of his four ſheets above-mentioned, as near as memory could recollect, in ten particulars.

I. That

I. That the devils have in their natures a power to work wonders and miracles; particularly that the Phariſees were not miſtaken in aſſerting that the devils might be caſt out by Beelzebub; and that our Saviour's anſwer does not oppoſe that aſſertion; and that he hath the power of death, that he can make the moſt ſolid things inviſible; and can inviſibly bring poiſon and force it down people's throats.

II. That to aſſert this natural, wonderful power of the devil, makes moſt for the glory of God, in preſerving man from its effects.

III. Yet this power is reſtrained by the Almighty, as pleaſeth him.

IV. That a witch is one that makes a covenant with the devil.

V. That by virtue of ſuch a covenant, ſhe arrives at a power to commiſſion him.

VI. That God has ordained that when the devil is called upon by the witch, though he were before reſtrained by the Almighty, the deſired miſchiefs ordinarily ſhall as certainly be performed, as if the witch had lodged poiſon in the bowels of her neighbour, or had ſet maſtiff dogs on them.

VIII. That that God which reſtrained an *Abimelich* and a *Laban* from hurting, does alſo reſtrain the witch from calling upon or improving the devil, when he will not have his power ſo exerted.

IX. That to have a familiar ſpirit, is to be able to cauſe a devil to take bodily ſhapes, whereby either to give reſponces, or to receive orders for doing miſchief.

X. That

X. That this is the judgment of moſt of the divines in the country, whether Engliſh, Dutch or French.

This as I ſaid, I took to be moſt material in the four ſheets ſent to me as his belief, and is alſo all the performance he has yet made of his ſeveral promiſes ; which ten articles being done only by memory, leſt through miſtake or want of the original, I might have committed any errors, I ſent them to him that, if there were any, they might be rectified : But inſtead of ſuch an anſwer, as might be expected from a miniſter and a learned gentleman, one Mr. *W*---- ſhewed me a letter writ by Mr. *C. M*--- to himſelf, which I might read, but neither borrow nor copy, and ſo, if I were minded, could give but a ſhort account of it.

And paſſing over this hard language, which, as I am conſcious to myſelf, I never deſerved, (relating to my writing in the margin of the four ſheets ; and to theſe ten articles) ſo I hope I underſtand my duty, better than to imitate him in retorting the like. Among his many words in his ſaid letters, I meet with two ſmall objections ; one is againſt the word (*Miracle*) in the firſt article, the word, I ſay, not the matter, for the works he attributes to the devil are the ſame in their being above or againſt the courſe of nature and all natural cauſes, yet he will not admit of theſe to be called miracles, and hence he reckons it the greateſt difficulty he meets with in this whole affair, to diſtinguiſh the works of the devil

from

from miracles. And hence alſo he concedes to the devil the power to make the moſt ſolid things inviſible, and inviſibly to bring poiſon and force it down people's throats, &c. Which I look upon to be as true miracles as that 2 *Kings* vi. 18. and this is the ſenſe I underſtand the word in, and in this ſenſe, he himſelf in the four ſheets admits it; for he has an objection to this effect, viz. If the devils have ſuch power, &c. then miracles are not ceaſed; and where are we then? (his anſwer is) Where! even juſt where we were before, ſay I ſo that it ſeems the only offence here is at my uſing his words. His ſecond objection (for weight) is againſt the whole ninth article, and wonders how it is poſſible for one man ſo much to miſunderſtand another; yet as I remember, he ſpeaking of the witch of *Endor* in the ſaid four ſheets ſays, ſhe had a familiar ſpirit, and that a ſpirit belonging to the inviſible world, upon her calling appeared to *Saul*, &c. and if ſo it is certain he gave reſponces, he alſo tells of *Balaam*, that it was known that he could ſet devils on people to deſtroy them, and therefore how this objection ſhould bear any force I ſee not; the reſt of the objections are of ſo ſmall weight that once reading may be ſufficient to clear them up, and if this be not ſo, he can, when he pleaſes, by making it publick together with the margins I writ, convince all people of the truth of what he aſſerts; but here it is to be noted, that the 2d. 3rd. 4th. and 5th. articles he concedes to, as having nothing to object againſt them, but that they are his belief; and that the 6th. and 7th. he puts for

anſwer to an objection which he thus frames, viz. If the devil have ſuch powers but cannot exert them but by permiſſion from God, what can the witch contribute thereto. And thus I have faithfully performed what I undertook, and do ſolemnly declare, I have not intentionally in the leaſt wronged the gentleman concerned, nor deſigned the leaſt blemiſh to his reputation ; but if it ſtands in competition with the Glory of God, the only Almighty Being, his truths and his peoples' welfare, I ſuppoſe theſe too valuable to be trampled on for his ſake, though in other things I am ready to my power (though with denying ſome part of my own intereſt) to ſerve him. Had this gentleman declined or detracted his four ſheets, I ſee not but he might have done it, and which I think there was cauſe enough for him to have done, but to own the four ſheets, and at the ſame time to diſown the doctrine contained in them, and this knowing that I have no copy, renders the whole of the worſe aſpect.

And now I ſhall give you a further account of my belief, when I have firſt premiſed, that it is a prevailing belief in this country, and elſewhere, that the ſcriptures are not full in the deſcription of, and in the way and means how to detect a witch, though poſitive in their puniſhment to be by death ; and that hence they have thought themſelves under a neceſſity of taking up with the ſentiments of ſuch men or places that are thought worthy to give rules to detect them by : And have accordingly practiſed, viz. In ſearching for tets for the devil to ſuck ; trying whether the

ſuſpected

ſuſpected can ſay the Lord's prayer; and whether the afflicted falls at the ſight, and riſes at the touch of the ſuppoſed witch; as alſo by the afflicted or poſſeſſed giving account who is the witch.

Touching theſe my belief is, that 'tis highly derogatory to the wiſdom of the wiſe lawgiver, to aſſert, that he has given a law by *Moſes*, the penalty whereof is death; and yet no direction to his people, whereby to know and detect the culpable, till our triumvirate Meſſrs. *Perkins*, *Gaul* and *Bernard*, had given us their receits, and that that fourth head of Mr. *Gaul*, being ſo well proved by ſcripture is a truth, and contains a full and clear teſtimony, who are witches culpable of death, and that plainly and from Scripture, yet not excluding any other branch, when as well proved by that infaillible rule. And that the going to the afflicted or poſſeſſed, to have them divine who are witches by their ſpecteral ſight, is a great wickedneſs, even the ſin of *Saul* (for which he alſo died) but with this difference, the one did it for augury, or to know future events, the other in order to take away life; and that the ſearching for tets, the experiment or their ſaying the Lord's prayer; the falling at the ſight and riſing at the touch of the ſuppoſed criminal, being all of them foreign from ſcripture, as well as reaſon, are abominations to be abhored and repented of. And that our *Salem* witchcraft, either reſpecting the judges and juries, their tenderneſs of life, or the multitude and pertinency of witneſſes, both afflicted and confeſſors, or the integrity of the hiſtorians, are

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as authentic, and made as certain as any ever of that kind in the world; and yet who is it that now ſees not through it, and that theſe were the ſentiments that have procured the foreſt affliction, and moſt laſting infamy that ever befel this country, and moſt like ſo to do again, if the ſame notions be ſtill entertained and finally that theſe are thoſe laſt times, of which the ſpirit ſpeaks expreſly, *Tim.* iv. 1. *And now ye that are fathers in the churches, guides to the people, and the ſalt of the earth.*

I beſeech you conſider theſe things; and if you find the glory of God diminiſhed by aſcribing ſuch power to witches and Devils; his truths oppoſed by theſe notions; and his people aſperſed in their doctrines and reputations, and indangered in their lives; I dare not dictate you, you know your duty as watchmen, and the Lord be with you.

But if you find my belief contrary to ſound doctrine, I intreat you to ſhew it me by the ſcripture; and in the mean time blame me not if I cannot believe that there are ſeveral Almighties; for to do all ſorts of wonders, beyond and above the courſe of nature, is certainly the work of *Omnipotency*. So alſo, he that ſhall commiſſion or impower to theſe, muſt alſo be Almighty; and I think it not a ſufficient *ſalvo*, to ſay they may be reſtrained by the Moſt High; and hope you will not put any hard conſtruction on theſe my endeavours to get information (all other ways failing) in things ſo needful to be known; praying

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the Almighty's guidance and protection, I am,
Yours to the utmoſt of my power,
R. C.

Boſton, Sept. the 20th, 1695.

Mr. Samuel Willard.

Reverend Sir,

MY former of March the 18th. directed to the Miniſters (and which was lodged with yourſelf) contain ſeveral articles, which I ſend as my belief, praying them if I erred to ſhew it me by ſcripture, I have as yet had no anſwer to, either by word or writing, which makes me gather that they are approved of as *Orthodox*, or at leaſt that they have ſuch foundations, as that none are willing to manifeſt any oppoſition to them: and therefore with ſubmiſſion, &c. I think that that late ſeaſonable and well-deſigned dialogue intituled, *Some Miſcellaneous Obſervations*, &c. of which yourſelf is the ſuppoſed author (and which was ſo ſerviceable in the time of it) is yet liable to a malconſtruction, even to the danger of reviving what it moſt oppoſes, and do bring thoſe practices again on foot, which in the day of them were ſo terrible to this whole country: the words which I ſuppoſe ſo liable to miſconſtruction, are *pag.* 14. B. *Who informed them?* S. *the Spectre.* B. *very good, and that's the Devil turned informer. How are good men like to fare againſt whom he hath particular malice!*

It is but a preſumption, and wiſe men will weigh preſumptions againſt preſumptions. There is to be no

examination without grounds of ſuſpicion. Some perſons credit nothing to be accounted too good to be undermined ſo far as to be ſuſpected on ſo ſlight a ground: and it is an injury done them to bring them upon examination, which renders them openly ſuſpected. I will not deny but for perſons already ſuſpected and of ill fame, it may occaſion their being examined. In which theſe words ('tis but a preſumption, &c.) (and ſome perſons credit, &c.) (and I will not deny but for perſons already ſuſpected, &c.) this I take to be waving the diſcuſſion of thoſe points, the ſpeaking to which might at that time have hindered the uſefulneſs and ſucceſs of that Book, rather than any declaring the ſentiments of the author. But notwithſtanding many perſons will be ready to underſtand this, as if the author did wholly leave it with the juſtice, to judge who are ill perſons, ſuch as the Devil's accuſations may faſten upon; and that the Devil's accuſation of a perſon, is a preſumption againſt them of their guilt; and that upon ſuch preſumptions, they may be had to examination, if the juſtice counts them perſons of ill fame (for the author I ſuppoſe knows that the bear examination will leave ſuch a ſtain upon them, and it would be well if their poſterity eſcaped it!) as the length of a holy and unblameable life will be found too ſhort to extirpate. And if the juſtice may go thus far with the Devil's evidence, then the addition of a ſtory or two of ſome cart overſet, or perſons taken ſick after a quarrel, might as well be thought ſufficient for their commitment, in order to their trial as 'tis called (though this too often has been more

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like a ſtage play, or a *tragicomic ſcene)* and ſo that other ways uſeful book, may prove the greateſt ſnare to revive the ſame practices again.

Theſe things being ſo liable, as I ſaid, to ſuch mal-conſtruction it were needful that men might be undeceived, and the matter more fully demonſtrated, *viz.* That the Devil's accuſation is not ſo much as any preſumption againſt the life or reputation of any perſon, for how are good men like to fare, if his malicious accuſations may be taken as a preſumption of their guilt ; and that his accuſations as they are no preſumption againſt perſons of unſpotted fame, ſo neither are to be heard, or any ways regarded againſt perſons though otherways of ill life, much leſs for their having long ſince had their names abuſed by his outcries, or by the malice of ill neighbours ; and that juſtice knows no difference of perſons ; that if this evidence be ſufficient to bring one perſon 'tis ſo to bring any other to examination, and conſequently to the utmoſt extent of odium, which ſuch examination will certainly expoſe them to, for who can know any other, but that as the one may be maliciouſly accuſed by Devils and a Deviliſh report gone before it ; ſo that another who has not been ſo much as accuſed before, being more cunning or more ſeeming religious, might yet be more guilty ; the whole depending upon inviſible evidence, of which inviſible ſtuff, though we have had more than ſufficient, yet I find (among other Reverend perſons) your name to a certain printed paper, which runs thus.

Certain

Certain Propoſals made by the Preſident and Fellows of Harvard College, to the Reverend Miniſters of the Goſpel, in the ſeveral churches of New-England.

FIRST. *To obſerve and record the more illuſtrious diſcoveries of the Divine Providence in the Government of the world, is a deſign ſo holy, ſo uſeful, ſo juſtly approved, that the too general neglect of it in the churches of God, is as juſtly to be lamented.*

2. *For the redreſs of that neglect, although all Chriſtians have a duty incumbent on them, yet it is in a peculiar manner to be recommended unto the miniſters of the Goſpel, to improve the ſpecial advantages which are in their hands, to obtain and preſerve the knowledge of ſuch notable occurrences as are ſought out by all that have pleaſure in the great works of the Lord.*

3. *The things to be eſteemed memorable, are ſpecially all unuſual accidents in the heaven, or earth, or water, all wonderful deliverances of the diſtreſſed, mercies to the Godly, judgments on the wicked, and more glorious fulfilments of either the promiſes or threatnings in the ſcriptures of truth, with apparitions, poſſeſſions, enchantments, and all extraordinary things, wherein the exiſtence and agency of the Inviſible World is more ſenſibly demonſtrated.*

4. *It is therefore propoſed, That the miniſters throughout this land would manifeſt their pious regards unto the works of the Lord, and the operation of his hands, by reviving their cares to take written accounts of ſuch* Remarkables : *But ſtill well atteſted with credible and ſufficient witneſs.*

5. *It is deſired that the accounts, thus taken of*

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these remarkables, may be sent to the President, or the Fellows of the College, by whom they shall be carefully reserved for such a use to be made of them, as may by some fit assembly of ministers be judged most conducing to the glory of God, and the service of his people.

6. *Though we doubt not that love to the name of God will be a sufficient motive to all good men, to contribute what assistance they can unto this undertaking; yet for further encouragement, some singular marks of respects shall be studied for such good men, as will actually assist it, by taking pains to communicate any important passages proper to be inserted in this collection.*

INCREASE MATHER, *President.*

JAMES ALLEN,
CHAR. MORTON,
SAM. WILLARD,
COTTON MATHER;
JOHN LEVERETTE,
WILL. BRATTLE,
NEH. WALTER,
} *Fellows.*

Cambridge, March 5, 1694.

Here being an encouragement to all good men to send in such remarkables as are therein expressed, I have sent in the following, not that I think them a more sensible demonstration of the being of a future State (with rewards and punishments) or of angels good and bad, &c. than the scriptures of truth hold forth, &c. Or than any of those other demonstrations God hath given us; for this were treacherously and perfidiously to quit

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the poſt to the enemy; the Sadduces, Deiſt, and Atheiſt would hereby be put in a condition ſo triumphantly to deny the exiſtence and agency thereof. As that a few ſtories told (which at beſt muſt be owned to be fallible and liable to miſrepreſentations) could not be thought infallibly ſufficient to demonſtrate the truth againſt them. I have heard that in logick a falſe argument is reckoned much worſe than none: yet ſuppoſing that a collection of inſtances may be many ways uſeful, not only to the preſent, but ſucceeding ages, I have ſent you the following remarkables, which have lately occurred, the certainty of which, if any ſcruple it, will be found no hard matter to get ſatisfaction therein: But here, not to inſiſt on thoſe leſs occurrences, as the ſudden death of one of our late Juſtices, and alike mortality that fell upon the two ſons of another of them, with the fall of a man that was making proviſion to raiſe the new northern bell, which, when it was up, the firſt perſon, whoſe death it was to ſignify, was ſaid to be a child of him, who by printing and ſpeaking, had had as great a hand in procuring the late actions as any, if not the greateſt; and the ſplitting the gun at Salem, where that furious Marſhal, and his father, &c. was rent to pieces,&c. As to all theſe it muſt be owned,thatno man knows love or hatred by all that is before him, much leſs can they be more ſenſible demonſtrations of the exiſtence and agency of the *Inviſible World*, than the ſcripture of truth afford,&c. though the rich man in the Parable might think otherwiſe,&c. who was ſeeking to ſend

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ſome more ſenſible demonſtrations thereof to his brethren, &c. In that tremendous judgment of God upon this country, by the late amazing proſecution of the people here, under the notion of Witches; whereby twenty ſuffered as evil doers (beſides thoſe that died in priſon) about ten more condemned, and a hundred impriſoned, and about two hundred more accuſed, and the country generally in fears, when it would come to their turn to be accuſed; and the proſecution and manner of trial ſuch, that moſt would have choſen to have fallen into the hands of the barbarous enemy, rather than (under that notion) into the hands of their brethren in church Fellowſhip; and in ſhort, was ſuch an affliction as far exceeded all that ever this country hath laboured under.

Yet in this mount, God is ſeen; when it was thus bad with this diſtreſſed People, a full and a ſudden ſtop is put, not only without, but againſt the inclination of many, for out of the eater came forth meat: Thoſe very accuſers, which had been improved as witneſſes againſt ſo many, by the providence of the moſt high, and perhaps blinded with malice, are left to accuſe thoſe in moſt high eſteem, both magiſtrates and miniſters, as guilty of witchcraft, which ſhewed our rulers, that neceſſity lay upon them, to confound that which had ſo long confounded the country, as being unwilling themſelves to run the ſame riſque, this that was in the event of it to this country, as life from the dead, is moſt eaſy with him, in whoſe hands are the hearts of all men and was a

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very ſignal deliverance to this whole country. No leſs obſervable was it, that though at the time when the Devil's teſtimony, by the afflicted, was firſt laid aſide, there were great numbers of (real or pretended) afflicted : Yet when this was once not judged of validity enough to be any longer brought into the court againſt the accuſed as evidence, the affliction generally ceaſed, and only ſome remainders of it in ſuch places, where more encouragement was given to the actors, God ſeeming thereby plainly to decipher that ſin of going to the devil, &c. as the riſe and foundation of thoſe puniſhments.

And thus, Reverend, I have, as I underſtand it, performed my duty herein, for the glory of God, and the well-being of men. And for my freedom uſed in this, and former writings, relating to the actors in this tragedy, I ſhall not apologize, but give you the words of one to whom ſome can afford the title of venerable (when he is arguing for that which they have undertaken to aſſert, though at other times, more diminitive epithets muſt ſerve) it is the Reverend Mr. R. Baxter in his book, *the cure of Church diviſions*, p. 257, 258. *But* (I pray you mark it) *the way of God is to ſhame the ſinner, how good ſoever in other reſpects, that the ſin may have the greater ſhame, and religion may not be ſhamed, as if it allowed men to ſin; Nor God the author of religion be diſhonoured; Nor others be without the warning; but the way of the Devil is, to hide or juſtify the ſin, as if it were for fear of diſparaging the goodneſs of the perſons that committed it; that ſo he may hereby diſhonor religion*

and

and godlineſs itſelf, and make men believe it is but a cover for any wickedneſs, and as conſiſtent with it, as a looſer life is, and that he may keep the ſinner from repenting, and blot out the memory of that warning, which ſhould have preſerved after-ages from the like falls. Scripture ſhameth the profeſſors (though a David, *a* Solomon, Peter, Noah, *or* Lot) *that the religion profeſt may not be aſhamed but vindicated: Satan would preſerve the honour of profeſſors, that the religion profeſſed may bear the ſhame; and ſo it may fall on God himſelf.*

And now that all that have had a hand in any horrid and bloody practices may be brought to give glory to God, and take the due ſhame to themſelves; and that our watchmen may no longer ſeek to palliate (much leſs give thanks for ſuch, &c. thereby making them their own) and that the people may no longer periſh for want of knowledge in the midſt of ſuch means of light; nor God be any longer diſhonoured by falſe ſentiments in theſe matters, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of, Sir, your's to my power.

R. C.

Mr. Cotton Mather.

Reverend Sir,

HAVING long ſince ſent you ſome doctrinals as to my belief, together with my requeſt to you, that if I erred you would be pleaſed to ſhew it me by ſcripture, *viz.* That the Devil's bounds are ſet which he cannot paſs; that the Devils are ſo full of malice that it cannot be added

ded by mankind; that where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it; that 'tis only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can commiſſion him to hurt and deſtroy, &c. But inſtead of ſuch an anſwer as was promiſed and juſtly expected, you were pleaſed to ſend me a book, which you ſince called an ungainſayable one; which book till lately I have not had opportunity ſo fully to conſider. And to the end you may ſee I have now done it, I have ſent to you ſome of the remarkables, contained in the ſaid book, intituled,

The certainty of the world of Spirits, written by Mr. R. B. *London, Printed.* 1691.

IT *is therein conceded* (Preface) that to ſee devils and ſpirits ordinarily would not be enough to convince Atheiſts. Page 88. Atheiſts are not to be convinced by ſtories, their own ſenſes are not enough to convince them any more than ſenſe will convince a papiſt from tranſubſtantiation. *(D. Laderd.)* P. 4. No ſpirit can do any thing but by God's will and permiſſion, (Preface) 'Tis the free will of man that gives the devils their hurting power: And without our own conſent they cannot hurt us. It is aſſerted, p. 222, 223, That it is a perverſe oppoſition of Popery which cauſes many Proteſtants not to regard the benefits we receive by angels. And miniſters are faulty, that do not pray and give thanks to God for their miniſtry; and that neglect to teach believers, what love and what thanks they owe to angels. P. 225. Moſt good

people

people look ſo much to God and to miniſters, that they take little notice of angels, which are God's great miniſters. P. 234. The author dares not, as ſome have done, judge the Catholic church to become Anti-Chriſtian idolaters, as ſoon as they gave too much worſhip to ſaints and angels. P. 7. The bleſſed ſouls ſhall be like the angels, therefore may appear here, p. 3, 4. 'Tis hard to know whether it be a devil or a human ſoul that appears, or whether the ſoul of a good or a bad perſon. p. 61. or the ſoul of ſome dead friend that ſuffers, and yet retains love, &c. P. 222. No doubt the ſouls of the wicked carry with them their former inclinations of covetouſneſs, revenge, &c. P. 7. When revengeful things are done, as on murderers, defrauders, &c. it ſeems to be from the revengeful wrath of ſome bad ſoul, if it be about money or lands, then from a worldly minded one; ſome ſignifications of God's mercy to wicked ſouls after this life. P. 4. 'Tis a doubt whether beſides the angels (good and bad) and the ſouls of men, there is not a third ſort, called faries and goblins. It is unſearchable to us how far God leaves ſpirits to freewill in ſmall things, ſuſpending his predetermining motion.

P. 246. The devils have a marvellous power, if but a ſilly wretched witch conſent. P. 10. 202. The ſtories of witches and ſpirits are many ways uſeful, particularly to convince Atheiſts, and confirm believers, and to prove the operation of ſpirits. P. 232. To help men to underſtand that devils make no ſmall number of laws, and rulers in the world, and are authors of moſt of the wars,

and

and of many ſermons, and of books that adorn the libraries of learned men. P. 6. 102. The devil's lying with the witch is not to be denied, and is more to exerciſe the luſt of the witch than of the devil, who can alſo bring in another witch without opening the door, and ſo perform it by one witch with another. P. 105. Witches can raiſe ſtorms, ſell winds, &c. as is commonly affirmed. P. 107. In *America* it is a common thing to ſee ſpirits day and night. P. 95, 96, 97, 110. Stories of a child that could not be cured of witchcraft, becauſe the *Ember*-weeks were paſt, vomited a knife a ſpan long, cart nails, &c. and neither eat nor drank fifteen days and nights together ; a long piece of wood, four knives, and two ſharp pieces of iron, every one above a ſpan long, taken out of the ſtomach, &c. hair, ſtones, bones, vomited, &c. 1000 pounds of blood loſt by one perſon in a year's time.

P. 250. A ſtory that makes the author think it poſſible that ſuch great things (as he mentions) ſhould be gotten down and up people's throats.

P. 164. Partial credibility ſpoils many a good ſtory.

P. 125. The devil's ſubſtance enters into the poſſeſſed.

P. 174. Diſtracted are poſſeſſed.

P. 149. A ſick woman while ſhe lay in bed went to ſee her children.

P. 153. A dog appeared like a fly or a flea.

P. 165. Some knowing agents direct thunder ſtorms, though the author knows not who, and that they ſo often fall on churches he knows not why.

P. 2, 80.

P. 2, 80. Mr. *J. M.* and Mr. *C. M.* recommended together with *Bodin*, &c.

P. 237. A *Criſpian*, if through ignorance he believes not what he ſaith, may be a chriſtian.

In this, ſir, I ſuppoſe that if I have not wronged the ſenſe of the author in the places quoted (which I truſt you ſhall not find I have done) I cannot be thought accountable for the errors or contradictions to himſelf or to the truth, if any ſuch be found, particularly what he grants in the Preface (of the freewill of man giving the devil his hurting power.) This being not only more than thoſe called witch-advocates would deſire to be conceded to them: But is a palpable and manifeſt overturning the authors deſign in all his witch ſtories. For who would conſent to have the devil afflict himſelf? As alſo his conceſſion that no ſpirit can do any thing but by God's will and permiſſion, I cannot perſuade myſelf but you muſt be ſenſible of their apparent contradictorineſs to the reſt. Others there are of a very ill aſpect, as p. 234. the Catholics are much encouraged in their adoration of angels and ſaints. If that were ſo innocent as not to render them anti-chriſtian idolaters; and that p. 4. if admitted, will ſeem to lay an ungainſayable foundation for the Pagan, Indian, and Diaboliſt's faith; by telling us it is beyond our ſearch to know how far God leaves the devils to free-will, to do what they pleaſe, in this world, with a ſuſpenſion of God's predetermination; which if it were a truth, what were more rational than to oblige him that has ſuch power over us. The Atheiſts alſo would take encour-

agement if it were granted that we cannot know how far God ſuſpends his predetermining motion, he would thence affirm, we as little know that there is a predetermining motion, and conſequently whether there be a God, and p. 165. would abundantly ſtrengthen them, when ſuch a learned, experienced, and highly eſteemed chriſtian ſhall own that he knows not who it is that governs the thunder-ſtorms: for it might as well diſcover ignorance, who it is that diſpoſes of earthquakes, gun-ſhot, and afflictions that befall any, with the reſt of mundane events. I deſign not to remark all that in the book is remarkable, ſuch as the departed ſouls wandering again hither to put men upon revenge, &c. favouring ſo much of *Pithagoras's* tranſmigration of ſouls, and the ſeparation of the ſoul from the body without death, as in the caſe of her that went to ſee her children, while yet ſhe did not ſtir out of her bed, which ſeems to be a new ſpeculation; unleſs it determines in favour of tranſubſtantiation, that a body may be at the ſame time in ſeveral places. Upon the whole it is ungainſayable, that that book, though ſo highly extolled, may be juſtly expected to occaſion the ſtaggering of the weak, and the hardening of unbelievers in their infidelity. And it ſeems amazing, that you ſhould not only give it ſuch a recommendation, but that you ſhould ſend it to me, in order (as I take it) to pervert me from the belief of thoſe fundamental doctrinals (above recited) though I account them more firm than heaven and earth. But that which is yet more ſtrange to me, is that Mr. *B's* friends did not adviſe him better,

ter, than in his declined age to emit ſuch crude matter to the public. As to the ſometime reverend author, let his works praiſe the remembrance of him ; but for ſuch as are either erroneous and foiſted upon him, or the effect of an aged imbecility, let them be detected that they may proceed no further.

I am not ignorant that the manner of education of youth, in I think, almoſt all chriſtian ſchools hath a natural tendency to propagate thoſe doctrines of devils heretofore ſolely profeſt among *Ethnicks*, and particularly in matters of witchcraft, &c. For notwithſtanding the council of *Carthage's* taking notice that the chriſtian doctors did converſe much with the writings of the heathens for the gaining of eloquence, forbad the reading of the books of the *Gentiles* : yet it ſeems this was only a bill without a penalty, which their ſucceſſors did not look upon to be binding. He that ſhould in this age take a view of the ſchools, might be induced to believe that the ages ſince have thought, that without ſuch heathen learning a man cannot be ſo accompliſhed, as to have any pretence to academick literature : and that the vulgar might not be without the benefit of ſuch learning, ſome of their diſciples have taught them to ſpeak Engliſh, which has given me the opportunity to ſend you theſe following verſes.

Virg. Bucolicks. Sure love is not the cauſe their bones appear.
Eclog. 13.—— Some eyes bewitch my tender lambs I fear.
Eclog. 8.—— For me theſe herbs in *Pontus Mæris* choſe,
There ev'ry powerful drug in plenty grows ;

Transform'd

Transform'd to a wolf, I often *Mæris* ſaw,
Then into ſhady woods himſelf withdraw:
Oft he from deepeſt ſepulchres would charm
Departed ſouls. And from anothers farm,
Into his own ground corn yet ſtanding take.
Now from the town my charms bring *Daphnis* back.
Vanquiſh'd with charms from heaven the moon deſcend;
Circe with charms transform'd *Ulyſſes* friends:
Charms in the field will burſt a poiſonous ſnake,
Now from the town, &c.

Ovid's Metamorphoſis. Lib. 7.

Her arms thrice turns about, thrice wets her crown
With gather'd dew, thrice yawns, and kneeling down;
Oh night! thou friend to ſecrets, you clear fires,
That with the moon ſucceed when day retires.
Great *Hecate*, thou know'ſt and aid imparts,
To our deſign, your charms and magick arts:
And thou, oh earth, that to magicians yields
Thy powerful ſimples: Airs, winds, mountains, fields,
Soft murmuring ſprings, ſtill lakes and rivers clear,
Ye Gods of woods, ye Gods of night appear;
By you at will, I make ſwift ſtreams retire,
To their firſt fountain, while their banks admire.
Seas rough and ſmooth; clear clouds with clouds deform,
Storms turn to calms, and make a calm a ſtorm.
With ſpells and charms, I break the viper's jaws,
Cleave ſolid rocks, oaks from their fiſſures draw;
Whole woods remove, the airy mountains ſhake;
Earth forc'd to groan, and ghoſts from graves awake.
——————her journey takes,

Lib. 14.

To *Rhegium* oppoſite to *Zanle's* ſhore,
And treads the troubled waves, that loudly roar;
Running with unwet feet on that profound,
As if ſh' had trod upon the ſolid ground.

This

This with portentous poiſon ſhe pollutes,
Beſprinkled with the juice of wicked roots,
In words dark, and perplext nine times thrice,
Inchantments mutters with her wicked voiee, &c.

Theſe fables of the heathens (though in themſelves of no more validity than the idle tales of an Indian, or the diſcourſes of a known romancer) are become the ſchool-learning, not to ſay the faith of chriſtians, and are the ſcriptures brought (inſtead of that moſt ſure word) if not to prove doctrine, yet as illuſtrations thereof. Caſes of conſcience concerning witch page 25. remarkable providences page 250. This perhaps might be the cauſe that in England a people otherways ſober and religious have for ſome ages in a manner wholly refuſed admitting thoſe ſo educated to the work of the miniſtry. Such education and practice, have ſo far prevailed that it has been a means of corrupting the chriſtian world, almoſt to that degree as to be ungainſayable ; for though there is reaſon to hope that theſe diabolical principles have not ſo prevailed (with multitudes of chriſtians) as that they aſcribe to a witch and a devil the attributes peculiar to the Almighty ; yet how few are willing to be found oppoſing ſuch a torrent, as knowing that in ſo doing they ſhall be ſure to meet with oppoſition to the utmoſt, from the many, both of magiſtrates, miniſters and people ; and the name of Sadducee, Atheiſt, and perhaps witch too caſt upon them moſt liberally, by men of the higheſt profeſſion in Godlineſs. And if not ſo learned as ſome of themſelves, then

accounted

accounted only fit to be trampled on, and their arguments (though both rational and ſcriptural) as fit only for contempt. But though this be the deplorable dilemma; yet ſome have dared from time to time (for the glory of God, and the good and ſafety of men's lives, &c.) to run all theſe riſques. And that God who has ſaid, *My glory I will not give to another*, is able to protect thoſe that are found doing their duty herein againſt all oppoſers; and however other ways contemptible can make them uſeful in his own hand, who has ſometimes choſen the weakeſt inſtruments, that his power may be the more illuſtrious.

And now, reverend ſir, if you are conſcious to yourſelf, that you have in your principle, or practices been abetting to ſuch grand errors, I cannot ſee how it can conſiſt with ſincerity to be ſo convinced in matters ſo nearly relating to the glory of God, and lives of innocents; and at the ſame time ſo much to fear diſparagement among men, as to trifle conſcience, and diſſemble an approving of former ſentiments; you know that word, *he that honoureth me I will honour, and he that deſpiſeth me ſhall be lightly eſteemed.* But if you think that in theſe matters you have done your duty, and taught people theirs; and that the doctrines cited from the above mentioned book are ungainſayable; I ſhall conclude in almoſt his words, he that teaches ſuch doctrine, if through ignorance he believes not what he ſaith, may be a chriſtian: But if he believes them, he is in the broad path to heatheniſm, deviliſm, popery, or atheiſm. It is a ſolemn caution, *Gal.* i. 8. *But*

though

though we or an angel from heaven preach any other goſpel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed. I hope you will not miſconſtrue my intentions herein, who am, reverend ſir, yours to command, in what I may,

R. C.

To the miniſters in and near Boſton, Jan. 12, 1696.

CHRISTIANITY had been but a ſhort time in the world, when there was raiſed againſt it, not only open profeſt enemies ; but ſecret and imbred underminers, who ſought thereby to effect that which open force had been ſo often baffled in.

And notwithſtanding that primitive purity and ſincerity, which in ſome good meaſure was ſtill retained ; yet the cunning deceivers and apoſtate hereticks found opportunity to beguile the unwary, and this in fundamentals.

Among others which then ſprung up, with but too much advantage in the third century, the *Maniche* did ſpread his peſtiferous ſentiments, and taught the exiſtence of two Beings or cauſes of all things, viz. a good and a bad : but theſe were ſoon ſilenced by the more orthodox doctors, and anathematized by general councils. And at this day the American Indians, another ſort of *Maniche*, entertaining (thus far) the ſame belief, hold it their prudence and intereſt to pleaſe that evil being, as well by perpetrating other murders, as by their bloody ſacrifices, that ſo he may not harm them. The iron teeth of time have now almoſt devoured the name of the former, and as to the

latter,

latter, it is to be hoped that as chriſtianity prevails among them, they will abhor ſuch abominable belief.

And as thoſe primitive times were not privil-edged againſt the ſpreading of dangerous herely, ſo neither can any now pretend to any ſuch immunity, though profeſſing the enjoyment of a primitive purity.

Might a judgment be made from the books of the modern learned divines, or from the practice of courts, or from the faith of many, who call themſelves chriſtians, it might be modeſtly, tho' ſadly, concluded that the doctrine of the Maniche, at leaſt great part of it, is ſo far from being forgotten that it is almoſt every where profeſt. We in theſe ends of the earth need not ſeek far for inſtances in each reſpect to demonſtrate this. The books here printed and recommended not only by the reſpective authors, but by many of their brethren, do ſet forth that the devil inflicts plagues * wars † diſeaſes ‡ tempeſts § and can render the moſt ſolid things inviſible ‖ and can do things above and againſt the courſe of nature, and all natural cauſes.

Are theſe the expreſſions of Orthodox believers? or are they not rather expreſſions becoming a Maniche, or a Heathen, as agreeing far better with theſe than with the ſacred oracles our only rule; the whole current whereof is ſo diametrically oppoſite thereto, that it were almoſt endleſs to

* Wonders of the Inviſible World. p. 17, 18.——† p. 18.——‡ Caſe of Conſcience, p. 63.——§ Remarkable providences, p. 124.——‖ Wonders of the Inviſible World, p. 141.

to mention all the divine cautions againſt ſuch abominable belief; he that runs may read, *Pſal.* lxii. 11, and cxxxvi. 4. *Lam.* iii. 37. *Amos* iii. 6. *Jer.* iv. 22. *Pſal.* lxxviii. 26. and clxviii. 6. 8. *Job.* xxxviii. 22. to the 34 v.

Theſe places with a multitude more, do abundantly teſtify that the aſſertors of ſuch power to be in the evil being, do ſpeak in a dialect different from the ſcriptures, (laying a firm foundation for the Indians' adorations, which agrees well with what *A. Roſs* ſets forth, in his miſtag. poetic. p. 116. that their ancients did uſurp the furies and their God *Averinci*, that they might forbear to hurt them.)

And have not the courts in ſome parts of the world by their practices, teſtified their concurrences with ſuch belief, proſecuting to death many people upon that notion, of their improving ſuch power of the evil one, to the raiſing of ſtorms; afflicting and killing of others, though at great diſtance from them; doing things in their own perſons above human ſtrength, deſtroying cattle, flying in the air, turning themſelves into cats or dogs, &c. which by the way muſt needs imply ſome thing of goodneſs to be in that evil being, who, though he has ſuch power, would not exert it, were it not for this people, or elſe that they can ſome way add to this mighty power.

And are the people a whit behind in their beliefs? is there any thing abovementioned, their ſtrong faith looks upon to be too hard for this evil being to effect?

Here it will be anſwered, God permits it. Which anſwer is ſo far an owning the doctrine, that the devil has in his nature a power to do all theſe things, and can exert this power, except when he is reſtrained, that it is in effect to ſay that God has made nature to fight againſt itſelf. That he has made a creature, who has it in the power of his nature to overthrow nature, and to act above and againſt it. Which he that can believe may as well believe the greateſt contradiction. That being which can do this in the ſmalleſt thing, can do it in the greateſt. If *Moſes* with a bare permiſſion might ſtretch forth his rod, yet he was not able to bring plagues upon the *Egyptians*, or to divide the waters, without a commiſſion from the moſt high; ſo neither can that evil being perform any of this without a commiſſion from the ſame power. The ſcripture recites more miracles wrought by men than by angels good and bad: though this doctrine be ſo diſhonourable to the only Almighty being, as to aſcribe ſuch attributes to the evil one, as are the incommunicable prerogative of him, who is the alone Sovereign being; yet here is not all: But as he that ſteers by a falſe compaſs, the further he ſails the more he is out of his way; ſo though there is in ſome things a variation from, there is in others a further progreſſion in, or building upon the ſaid doctrine of the maniche.

Men in this age are not content barely to believe ſuch an exorbitant power to be in the nature of this evil being; but have imagined that he prevails, with many to ſign a book, or make a

contract

contract with him, whereby they are inabled to perform all the things abovementioned. Another account is given hereof, *viz.* that by virtue of ſuch a covenant they attain power to commiſſion him. And though the two parties are not agreed which to put it upon, whether the devil impowers the witch, or the witch commiſſions him; yet both parties are agreed in this, that one way or other the miſchief is effected, and ſo the criminal becomes culpable of death. In the ſearch after ſuch a ſort of criminals, how many countries have fallen into ſuch convulſions. That neither the devaſtations made by a conquering enemy, nor the plague itſelf, has not been ſo formidable.

That not only good perſons have thus been blemiſhed in their reputations, but much innocent blood hath been ſhed, is teſtified even by thoſe very books, Caſes of Conſcience, *p.* 33. Remarkable provid. *p.* 179. Memor provid. *p.* 28.

And (to add) what leſs can be expected, when men having taken up ſuch a belief, of covenanting, afflicting and killing witches, and comparing it with the ſcripture, finding no footſteps therein of ſuch a ſort of witch, have thereupon deſperately concluded; that though the ſcripture is full in it, that a witch ſhould not live; yet that it has not at all deſcribed the crime, nor means whereby the culpable might be detected.

And hence they are fallen ſo far as to reckon it neceſſary to make uſe of thoſe diabolical and bloody ways, always heretofore practiced for their diſcovery. As finding that the rules given to detect

tect other crimes, are wholly uſeleſs for the diſcovery of ſuch.

This is that which has produced that deluge of blood mentioned, and muſt certainly do ſo again, the ſame belief remaining.

And who can wonder, if Chriſtians that are ſo eaſily prevailed with to lay aſide their ſwords as uſeleſs, and ſo have loſt their ſtrength (if with *Samſon*) they are laid blindfold into an Idol Temple, to make ſport for enemies and infidels, and to do abominable actions, not only not Chriſtian, but againſt even the light of nature and reaſon. And now reverend fathers, you who are appointed as guides to the people, and whoſe lips ſhould preſerve knowledge; who are ſet as ſhepherds, and as watchmen, this matter appertains to you. I wrote to you formerly under this head, and acquainted you with my ſentiments, requeſting that, if I erred, you would be pleaſed to ſhew it me by ſcripture; but from your ſilence, I gather that you approve thereof. For I may reaſonably preſume, that you would have ſeen it your duty to have informed me better, if you had been ſenſible of any error. But if in this matter you have acquitted yourſelves, becoming the titles you are dignified with, you have cauſe of rejoicing in the midſt of calamities that afflict a ſinning world.

Particularly, if you have taught the people to fear God, and truſt in him, and not to fear a witch or a Devil. That the Devil has no power to afflict any with diſeaſes, or loſs of cattle, &c. without a commiſſion from the Moſt High. That he

is

is ſo filled with malice, that whatever commiſſion he may have againſt any, he will not fail to execute it. That no mortal ever was, or can be able to commiſſion him, or to lengthen his chain in the leaſt, and that he who can commiſſion him is God; and that the ſcriptures of truth not only aſſign the puniſhment of a witch; but give ſufficient rules to detect them by, and that according to Mr. *Gaul's* fourth head, a witch is one that hates and oppoſes the word, work, and worſhip of God, and ſeeks by a ſign to ſeduce therefrom. That they who are guilty according to that head, are guilty of witchcraft, and by the law given by *Moſes*, were to be put to death. If you have taught the people the neceſſity of charity, and the evil of entertaining ſo much as a jealouſy againſt their neighbours for ſuch crimes, upon the Devil's ſuggeſtions to a perſon pretending to a ſpectral or diabolical ſight; who utter their oracles from malice, frenſy, or a ſatanical deluſion to be inquiſitive of ſuch, whoſe ſpectres they ſee, or who it is that afflicts. In order to put the accuſed perſon's life in queſtion, is a wickedneſs beyond what *Saul* was guilty of in going to the witch. That to conſult with the dead, by the help of ſuch as pretend to this ſpectral ſight, and ſo to get information againſt the life of any perſon, is the worſt ſort of necromancy. That the pretending to drive away ſpectres, *i. e.* Devils, with the hand, or by ſtriking theſe to wound a perſon at a diſtance, cannot be without witchcraft, as pretending to aſſign in order to deceive in matters of ſo high a nature. That

'tis ridiculous to think by making laws againſt feeding, imploying, or rewarding of evil ſpirits, thereby to get rid of them. That their natures require nor ſucking to ſupport it.

That it is a horrid injury and barbarity to ſearch thoſe parts, which even nature itſelf commands the concealing of, to find ſome excreſcence to be called a tet for theſe to ſuck; which yet is ſaid ſometimes to appear as a fleabite. Finally if you have taught the people what to believe and practice, as to the probation of the accuſed, by their ſaying or not ſaying the Lord's prayer; and as to praying that the afflicted may be able to accuſe; and have not ſhunned in theſe matters to declare the whole mind of God; you have then well acquitted yourſelves (in time of general defection) as faithful watchmen. But if inſtead of this, you have ſome by word and writing propagated; others recommended ſuch writings, and abetted the falſe notions, which are ſo prevalent in this apoſtate age, it is high time to conſider it. If when authority found themſelves almoſt nonpluſt in ſuch proſecutions, and ſent to you for your advice what they ought to do, and you have then thanked them for what they had already done (and thereby encouraged them to proceed in thoſe very by-paths already fallen into) it ſo much the more nearly concerns you, *Ezek.* xxiii. 2, to 8.

Caſes of Conſcience, Vit.

To conclude, this whole people are invited and commanded to humble their ſouls before God

God, as for other cauſes, for the errors that may have been fallen into in theſe proſecutions on either hand, and to pray that God would teach us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiſs, that we may do ſo no more.

Vid. *The Proclamation for a Faſt, to be the 14 inſt. as ſet forth by Authority.*

This more immediately concerns yourſelves, for 'tis not ſuppoſed to be intended, that God would ſhew us theſe things by inſpiration. But that ſuch who are called to it, ſhould ſhew the mind of God in theſe things on both hands; *i. e.* whether there has been any error in exceſs or deficiency, or neither in the one nor the other. And if you do not thus far ſerve the public, you need not complain of great ſufferings and unrighteous diſcouragements; if people do not applaude your conduct, as you might otherways have expected. But if you altogether hold your peace at ſuch a time as this is; your ſilence at leaſt ſeemingly will ſpeak this language; that you are not concerned though men aſcribe the power and providence of the almighty to the worſt of his creatures. That if other ages or countries improve the doctrine and examples given them, either to the taking away of the life or reputations of innocents you are well ſatisfied. Which that there may be no ſhadow of a reaſon to believe but that your conduct herein may remove all ſuch jealouſies; and that God would be with you in declaring his whole mind to the people, is the

Vid. *The Declaration, as drawn by the Deputies with the aſſiſtance of the Miniſters; but received a nonconcurrence.*

earneſt

earneſt deſire and prayer of, Reverend Sirs,

Your's to my utmoſt,

R. C.

Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth.

Reverend Sir,

AFTER that dreadful and ſevere perſecution of ſuch a multitude of people, under the notion of witches, which in the day thereof, was the ſoreſt trial and affliction that ever befel this country. And after many of the principal actors had declared their fears and jealouſies, that they had greatly erred in thoſe proſecutions. And after a ſolemn day of faſting had been kept, with prayers that God would ſhew us what we knew not; viz. what errors might therein have been fallen into, &c. And after moſt people were convinced of the evil of ſome, if not of moſt of thoſe actions. At ſuch a time as this, it might have been juſtly expected that the miniſters would make it their work to explain the ſcriptures to the people; and from thence to have ſhown them, the evil and danger of thoſe falſe notions, which not only gave ſome occaſion, but in a blind zeal hurried them into thoſe unwarrantable practices, ſo to prevent a falling into the like for the future.

But inſtead of this, for a miniſter of the goſpel (Paſtor of the old meeting) to abet ſuch notions, and to ſtir up the magiſtrates to ſuch proſecutions, and this without any cautions given, is what is truly amazing, and of moſt dangerous conſequence.

It

It is a truth, witchcraft is, in the text then inſiſted on, reckoned up as a manifeſt work of the fleſh. Viz. *Gal.* v. 19. But it is as true, that in recounting thoſe other works (which are indeed manifeſt fleſhly works) the magiſtrate was not ſtirred up againſt thoſe others; but as if the reſt were either not to be taken notice of by him, or as if all zeal againſt murder, adulteries, &c. was ſwallowed up, and overſhadowed by this againſt witchcraft.

The deſcription that was then given, was that they were ſuch as made a covenant with the devil, and ſold themſelves to the evil angels. It ſeems faulty, that when ſuch miniſter is inquired of, and requeſted to give the reaſons, or grounds in ſcripture of ſuch deſcription; for ſuch miniſter to aſſert that it is the inquirer's work to diſprove it. And his ſaying further, in anſwer that there are many things true, that are not aſſerted in ſcripture; ſeems to ſpeak this language, viz. that the law of God is imperfect, in not deſcribing this crime of witchcraft, though it be therein made capital.

Theſe perfect oracles inform us, concerning *Ahab*, that he ſold himſelf to work wickedneſs; which may ſignify to us, that great height of wickedneſs he had arrived at; which yet might be, without his being properly, or juſtly, accounted a witch; any more than thoſe that are ſaid to have made a covenant with death, and with hell, &c. Can it be thought that all thoſe, or ſuch as are there ſpoken of, are witches, and ought to ſuffer as witches?

As

As the ſervants and people of God, have made a ſolemn explicit covenant with him, *Joſh.* xxiv. 25. *Nehem.* ix. 38. &c. So no doubt a covenant has been made by heathen Indian nations, to ſerve, and adore the devil; yet even for this, it were very hard to affix the character of a witch upon each of thoſe heathen that ſo do: And accordingly to execute them as ſuch. It is alſo poſſible, that ſome that have been called chriſtians, have ſealed a writing, ſigned with their own blood, or otherways, thereby covenanting to be the devil's ſervants, &c. but from far other grounds, or inducements than what ſways with the Indians; theſe heathen hoping to pleaſe him, that ſo he may not harm them. But theſe having been educated and confirmed in the belief, that by virtue of ſuch covenant, they ſhall have a knowledge and power more than human, aſſiſting them; this may have prevailed with ſome to ſo horrible a wickedneſs; for none can ſeek evil for evil's ſake; but as the ſerpent in his firſt tempting man, made uſe of the knowledge of good and evil; ſo to teach men that ſuch effects do uſually follow ſuch covenant, is properly the work of the ſerpent; for without this, what inducement, or temptation could they have to make ſuch a covenant?

Theſe having thus choſen a falſe God, may well be accounted the worſt ſort of idolaters. Yet it does not hence follow that in a ſcripture ſenſe, they are thereby become witches, till they have, or rather till they pretend to have aſſiſtances anſwerable; and do thereby endeavour to deceive others, which endeavours to deceive, by a ſign may be without any previous covenant.

But

But ſuppoſing none of all thoſe ſeveral ſorts of covenants was intended, it remains that the covenant, that was underſtood to be intended, in that diſcourſe at old meeting, is agreeable to the late dangerous notion that has ſo much prevailed, viz. That the devil appears to the perſons, that they and the devil make mutual engagements each to other, confirmed by ſigning to the devil's book ; and are from hence inabled, not only to know futurities, and things done at diſtance ; but are alſo thereby impowered to do harm to the neighbours, to raiſe ſtorms, and do things above and againſt a courſe of nature ; this being the notion that has occaſioned the ſhedding ſo much blood in the world, it may be thought to need explaining.

For as reaſon knows nothing of an afflicting, covenanting witch ; ſo it ſeems as foreign from ſcripture in general, as it is from the text then inſiſted on ; which ſpeaks of ſuch wickedneſſes as are manifeſtly the works of the fleſh : but ſuch communication with ſpirits, her fleſh doth manifeſtly dread even as death itſelf. Therefore the uſual ſalvation of the holy angels to the beſt of men was, fear not ; and experience ſhews, that the moſt wicked, are moſt afrighted at the apprehenſions of the appearances of devils ; therefore ſuch an explicit covenanting cannot be a maniteſt work of the fleſh.

Yet this is manifeſt, that the belief of the witches' power to do the things above-mentioned, is an ancient belief of the heathen. And that from them it was received by the papiſts, as a part of their faith, who have ſince improved upon it, and brought in the notion of a covenant. But it ſeems

yet

yet a further improvement lately made by proteſtants, that ſuch witches can commiſſion devils to do thoſe miſchiefs, thereby ſetting the witch in the place of God; for though few of the papiſts are known to be thus abſurd; yet when ſuch doctrines have been preached, and printed in New England, they have met with none to oppoſe; but many to encourage them. Other conſiderable additions or new improvements have been made here; as the art to knock off inviſible chains with the hand, to drive away ſpectres (*i. e.* devils) by bruſhing, and ſpelling words to the afflicted, &c. What has followed upon theſe notions, and upon ſuch improvements, is needleſs here to repeat, it were unaccountable to recount that effuſion of blood that has been hereby occaſioned, ſuch remaining ſcars, and ſuch yet bleeding wounds as are to be found; which none can wholly pretend ignorance of.

And if blood ſhall be required of that watchman that ſeeth the ſword coming, and gives not the needful warning; how much more of ſuch as join with the enemy, to bring in the ſword to deſtroy them, over whom he was placed a watchman.

And if the law of God be perfect, and exceeding broad, as being given forth by the omniſcient law-giver; it is exceeding high preſumption and arrogance, and highly deſtructive to the lives of innocents, for any to pretend to give another, and a pretended better deſcription of a crime made thereby capital, with new rules to try ſuch offenders by.

Reverend

Reverend Sir, the matter being of ſuch high concern requires (and it is again prayed) that you would be pleaſed to conſider, and give the grounds from ſcripture, or reaſon of ſuch definition, or elſe that you would explode it, as inconſiſtent with both. From, reverend ſir, yours to my utmoſt,

R. C.

PART III.

An Account of the Differences in Salem *Village.*

THE reaſon, why we withdraw from communion with the church of Salem village, both as to hearing the word preached, and from partaking with them at the Lord's table, are as follow.

Why we attend not on public prayer, and preaching the word, there are,

I. The diſtracting, and diſturbing tumults, and noiſes made by the perſons under diabolical power and deluſions: preventing ſometimes our hearing, underſtanding, and profiting by the word preached. We having after many trials and experiences found no redreſs in this matter, accounted ourſelves under a neceſſity to go where we might hear the word in quiet.

II. The apprehenſion of danger of ourſelves, being accuſed as the devil's inſtruments, to afflict the perſons

complaining,

complaining, we ſeeing thoſe that we have reaſon to eſteem better than ourſelves, thus accuſed, blemiſhed, and of their lives bereaved: for ſeeing this, thought it our prudence to withdraw.

III. We found ſo frequent and poſitive preaching up ſome principles and practices by Mr. Parris, *referring to the dark and diſmal myſtery of iniquity working among us, was not profitable, but offenſive.*

IV. Neither could we in conſcience join with Mr. Parris, *in many of the requeſts which he made in prayer, referring to the trouble then among us and upon us: therefore thought it our moſt ſafe and peaceable way to withdraw.*

The reaſons why we hold not communion with them at the Lord's table, are becauſe we find ourſelves juſtly aggrieved, and offended with the officer, who does adminiſter, for the reaſons following.

I. From his declared and publiſhed principles, referring to our moleſtations from the inviſible world: Differing from the opinion of the generality of the orthodox miniſters of the country.

II. His eaſy, and ſtrong faith and belief of the before-mentioned accuſations, made by thoſe called the afflicted.

III. His laying aſide that grace (which above all we are to put on,) viz. charity towards his neighbours, and eſpecially thoſe of his church, when there is no apparent reaſon, but for the contrary.

IV. His approving and practiſing unwarrantable and ungrounded methods, for diſcovering what he was deſirous to know referring to the bewitched, or poſſeſſed perſons, as in bringing ſome to others, and by them pretending

tending to inform himself and others, who were the devil's instruments to afflict the sick and maimed.

V. His unsafe unaccountable oath, given by him against sundry of the accused.

VI. His not rendering to the world so fair (if so true) account of what he wrote on examination of the afflicted.

VII. Sundry unsafe if sound points of doctrine delivered in his preaching which we find not warrantable (if christian.)

VIII. His persisting in these principles, and justifying his practice; not rendering any satisfaction to us, when regularly desired, but rather offending, and dissatisfying ourselves.

We whose names are under written, heard this paper read to our Pastor, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, the 21st. of April, 1693.

Nathaniel Figarson,	*Peter Cloyce,* Seniour.
Edward Pulman,	*Samuel Nurce,*
Aaron Way,	*John Jarboll,*
William Way,	*Thomas Wilkins.*

Mr. PARRIS's *Acknowledgment.*

FOR as much as it is the undoubted duty of all christians to pursue peace, *Psal.* xxxiv. 14. even to a reacking of it, if it be possible. *Amos* xii. 18, 19. And whereas through the righteous Sovereign, and awful providence of God, the grand enemy to all christian peace, has been of late tremendously let loose in divers places hereabout, and more especially among our sinful selves, not only to interrupt that partial peace which we sometimes

ſometimes enjoyed but alſo through his wiles and temptations, and our weakneſs, and corruptions, to make wider breaches, and raiſe more bitter animoſities between too many of us. In which dark and difficult diſpenſations, we have been all or moſt of us of one mind for a time ; and afterwards of differing apprehenſions. And at laſt we are but in the dark, upon ſerious thoughts of all ; and after many prayers, I have been moved to preſent to you (my beloved flock) the following particulars, in way of contribution towards a regaining of chriſtian concord ; if ſo be we be not altogether unappeaſeable, irreconſileable, and ſo deſtitute of that good ſpirit, which is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, *James* iii. 17. viz.

1. In that the Lord ordered the late horrid calamity (which afterward plague-like ſpread in many other places) to break out firſt in my family, I cannot but look upon as a very ſore rebuke, and humbling providence, both to myſelf and mine, and deſire ſome may improve it.

2. In that alſo in my family were ſome of both parties, viz. accuſers and accuſed, I look alſo upon as an aggravation of that rebuke, as an addition of wormwood to the gall.

3. In the means which were uſed in my family, though totally unknown to me or mine (except ſervants) till afterwards, to raiſe ſpirits and apparitions in no better than a diabolical way, I do alſo look upon as a further rebuke of divine providence. And by all, I do humbly own this day before the Lord, and his people, that God

has

has been righteouſly ſpitting in my face, *Numb.* xii. 14. And I deſire to lie low under all this reproach, and to lay my hand on my mouth.

4. As to the management of theſe myſteries, as far as concerns myſelf, I am very deſirous upon further light to own any errors I have therein fallen into, and can come to a diſcerning of; in the mean while I do acknowledge upon after-conſiderations, that were the ſame troubles again, (which the Lord of his rich mercy forever prevent) I ſhould not agree with my former apprehenſions in all points. As for inſtance,

1. I queſtion not but God ſometimes ſuffers the devil, as of late, to afflict in ſhape of not only innocent, but pious perſons, or ſo to delude the ſenſes of the afflicted, that they ſtrongly conceit their hurt is from ſuch perſons, when indeed it is not.

2. The improving of one afflicted to inquire by, who afflicts the other, I fear may be, and has been unlawfully uſed to Satan's great advantage.

3. As to my writing, it was put upon me by authority, and therein I have been very careful to avoid the wronging of any.

4. As to my oath I never meant it, nor do I know how it can be otherwiſe conſtrued, than as vulgarly, and every one underſtood, yea, and upon inquiry it may be found ſo worded alſo.

5. As to any paſſage in preaching, or praying in the ſore hour of diſtreſs and darkneſs, I always intended but due juſtice on each hand, and that not according to men but God; who knows all things moſt perfectly; however through weakneſs,

or ſore exerciſe, I might ſometimes, yea and poſſibly ſundry times unadviſedly expreſs myſelf.

6. As to ſeveral that have confeſſed againſt themſelves, they being wholly ſtrangers to me, but yet of good account with better men than myſelf, to whom alſo they are well known, I do not paſs ſo much as a ſecret condemnation upon them. But rather ſeeing God hath ſo amazingly lengthened out Satan's Chain, in this moſt formidable outrage, I much more incline to ſide with the opinion of thoſe that have grounds to hope better of them.

7. As to all that have unduly ſuffered in theſe matters, either in their perſons or relations, through the clouds of human weakneſs, and Satan's wiles and ſophiſtry, I do truly ſympathize with them, taking it for granted, that ſuch as know themſelves clear of this great tranſgreſſion, or that have ſufficient grounds ſo to look upon their dear friends, have hereby been under thoſe ſore trials and temptations, that not an ordinary meaſure of true grace would be ſufficient to prevent a bewraying of remaining corruption.

8. I am very much in the mind, and abundantly perſuaded that God for holy ends, though for what in particular, is beſt known to himſelf has ſuffered the evil angels to delude us on both hands; but how far on the one ſide, or the other is much above me to ſay, and if we cannot reconcile till we come to a full diſcerning of theſe things, I fear we ſhall never come to an agreement, or at ſooneſt not in this world.

9. Therefore in fine, the matter being ſo dark

and

and perplexed, as that there is no preſent appearance, that all God's ſervants ſhould be altogether of one mind in all circumſtances, touching the ſame; I do moſt heartily, fervently, and humbly beſeech pardon of the merciful God, through the blood of Chriſt for all my miſtakes and treſpaſſes in ſo weighty a manner. And alſo all your forgiveneſs of every offence, in this or other affairs, wherein you ſee or conceive that I have erred and offended, profeſſing in the preſence of the Almighty God, that what I have done has been as for ſubſtance as I apprehend was duty, however through weakneſs, ignorance, &c. I may have been miſtaken. I alſo through grace promiſing each of you the like of me; ſo again I beg, intreat, and beſeech you, that ſatan the devil, the roaring lion, the old dragon, the enemy of all righteouſneſs, may no longer be ſerved by us, by our envy and ſtrifes, where every evil work prevails whilſt theſe bear ſway, *James* iii. 14, 15, 16. But that all from this day forward may be covered with the mantle of love, and we may on all hands forgive each other heartily, ſincerely and thoroughly, as we do hope and pray, that God for Chriſt's ſake would forgive each of ourſelves, *Mat.* xviii. 21. to the end. *Coloſ.* iii. 12, 13. *Put on therefore (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercies, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering: forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel againſt any, even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye.* Eph. iv. 31, 32. *Let all bitterneſs, and anger, and clamour, and evil-ſpeaking be put away from you with*

all

all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you. Amen. Amen.

SAMUEL PARRIS.

Given to the dissenting brethren, for their consideration, at their request. *Nov.* 26, 1694.

The elders and messengers of the churches, met at Salem Village, April 3, 1695, *to consider and determine what is to be done, for the composure of the present unhappy differences, in that place. After solemn invocation of God in Christ for his direction, do unanimously declare, as followeth, viz.*

1. WE judge that although in the late and dark time of the confusions, wherein satan had obtained a more than ordinary liberty, to sift this plantation, there were sundry unwarrantable, and uncomfortable steps, taken by Mr. *Samuel Parris*, the pastor of the church in Salem Village, then under the hurrying distractions of amazing afflictions; yet the said Mr. *Parris*, by the good hand of God brought unto a better sense of things, hath so fully expresst it, that a christian charity may and should receive satisfaction therewith.

2. Inasmuch as diverse christian brethren, in the church of Salem Village, have been offended at Mr. *Parris*, for his conduct in the time of their difficulties, which have distressed them; we now advise them charitably to accept the satisfaction which he hath tendered in his christian acknowledgment of the errors therein committed;

yea

yea to endeavour, as far as it is poſſible, the fulleſt reconciliation of their minds unto communion with him, in the whole exerciſe of his miniſtry, and with the reſt of the church, *Matt.* vi. 12, 14. *Luke* xvii. 3. *James* v. 16.

3. Conſidering the extreme trials and troubles, which the diſſatisfied brethren in the church of Salem Village have undergone, in the day of ſore temptation, which hath been upon them; we cannot but adviſe the church to treat them with bowels of much compaſſion, inſtead of more critical, or rigorous proceedings againſt them for the infirmities diſcovered by them, in ſuch an heart-breaking day; and if after a patient waiting for it, the ſaid brethren cannot ſo far overcome the uneaſineſs of their ſpirits, in the remembrance of the diſtaſters that have happened, as to ſit under his miniſtry; we adviſe the church with all tenderneſs to grant them admiſſion to any other ſociety of the faithful, whereunto they may be deſired to be diſmiſſed. *Gal.* vi. 1, 2. *Pſal.* ciii. 13, 14. *Job* xix. 21.

4. Mr. *Parris* having as we underſtand with much fidelity and integrity acquitted himſelf, in the main courſe of his miniſtry, ſince he hath been paſtor of the church of Salem Village; about his firſt call whereunto, we look upon all conteſts now to be both unreaſonable and unſeaſonable: And our Lord having made him a bleſſing to the ſouls of not a few, both old and young in this place, we adviſe that he be accordingly reſpected, honoured and ſupported, with all the regards that are due to a painful miniſter of the goſpel. 1 *Theſ.* v. 12, 13. 1 *Tim.* v. 17.

5. Having

5. Having obſerved that there is in Salem Village, a ſpirit full of contention and animoſity, too ſadly verifying the blemiſh which hath heretofore lain upon them: And that ſome complaints againſt Mr. *Parris* have been either cauſeleſs or groundleſs, or unduly aggravated; we do in the name and fear of the Lord ſolemnly warn them to conſider, whether if they continue to devour one another it will not be bitterneſs in the latter end, and beware leſt the Lord be provoked thereby utterly to deprive them of thoſe (which they ſhould count) their precious and pleaſant things, and abandon them to all the deſolations of a people that ſin away the mercies of the goſpel. *James* iii. 16. *Gal.* v. 15. 2 *Sam.* ii. 26. *Iſa.* v. 45. *Mat.* xxi. 43.

6. If the diſtempers in Salem Village ſhould be (which God forbid) ſo incurable, that Mr. *Parris* after all find that he cannot with any comfort and ſervice continue in his preſent ſtation, his removal from thence will not expoſe him to any hard character with us; nor we hope with the reſt of the people of God, among whom we live. *Matt.* x. 14. *Acts* xxii. 18. All which advice we follow, with our prayers that the God of peace would bruiſe ſatan under our feet; now the Lord of peace himſelf give you peace always by all means.

Joſ. Bridgham,	*Jer. Dummer,*	*James Allen,*
Samuel Chickley,	*Neh. Jewitt,*	*Samuel Tory,*
William Tory,	*Ephr. Hunt,*	*S. Willard,*
Joſ. Boynton,	*N. Williams,*	*E. Paiſon,*
R. Middlecutt,	*Incr. Mather,*	*C. Mather.*
John Walley,	*S. Phillips,*	

To

To the Reverend Elders of the three churches of Chriſt, at *Boſton*, with others the Elders and Brethren of other churches, late of a Council at *Salem* Village.

WE whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, are bold once more to trouble you with our humble propoſals. That whereas there has been long and uncomfortable differences among us, chiefly relating to Mr. Parris; *and we having, as we apprehend, attended all probable means for a compoſure of our troubles; and whereas we had hopes of an happy iſſue, by your endeavours among us, but now are utterly fruſtrated in our expectations, and that inſtead of uniting, our rent is made worſe, and our breach made wider.*

We humbly query, whether yourſelves being ſtreightened of time, might not omit ſuch ſatisfactory liberty of debating the whole of our controverſy: whereby yourſelves had not ſo large an opportunity of underſtanding the caſe; nor the offended ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied in your advice: We therefore humbly propoſe, and give full liberty of proving and defending of what may be charged on either hand, leaving it to yourſelves to appoint both time and place.

1. *That if yourſelves pleaſe to take the trouble with patience once more to hear the whole caſe.*

2. *Or that you will more plainly adviſe Mr.* Parris, *(the caſe being ſo circumſtanced, that he cannot with comfort or profit to himſelf, or others, abide in the work of the miniſtry among us) to ceaſe his labours, and ſeek to diſpoſe himſelf elſewhere, as God in his providence may direct: and that yourſelves would pleaſe to help us in adviſing to ſuch a choice, wherein we may be more unanimous; which we hope would tend much to a compoſure of our differences.*

3. *Or*

3. *Or that we may without any offence take the liberty of calling ſome other proved miniſter of the goſpel, to preach the word of God to us and ours: and that we may not be denied our proportionable privilege, in our public diſburſements in the place.*

So leaving the whole caſe with the Lord and yourſelves, we ſubſcribe our names. Signed by 16 *young men, from* 16 *upwards: and* 52 *houſholders, and* 18 *church members. This was delivered to the miniſters, May* 3, 1695.

The copy of a paper that was handed about touching thoſe differences.

AS to the conteſt between Mr. *Parris* and his hearers, &c. it may be compoſed by a ſatisfactory anſwer, to *Levit.* xx. 6. *And the ſoul that turneth after ſuch as have familiar ſpirits, and after wizzards, to go a whoring after them, I will ſet my face againſt that ſoul: and will cut him off from among his people.* 1 Chron. x. 13, 14. *So* Saul *died for his tranſgreſſion, which he committed againſt the Lord, even againſt the word of the Lord, which he kept not, and alſo for aſking council of one that had a familiar ſpirit to inquire of it. And inquired not of the Lord, therefore he ſlew him, &c.*

Some part of the determination of the elders and meſſengers of the churches, met at Salem Village, April 3, 1695, *relating to the differences there.*

IF the diſtemper in Salem Village ſhould be (which God forbid) ſo incurable that Mr. *Parris* after all, find that he cannot with any com-

fort

fort and ſervice continue in this preſent ſtation, his removal from thence will not expoſe him to any hard character with us, nor we hope with the reſt of the people of God, among whom we live, *Mat.* x. 14. *And whoſoever ſhall not receive you, nor hear your words; when you depart out of that houſe, or city, ſhake off the duſt of your feet*, &c. *Acts* xxii. 18. All which advice we follow with our prayers, that the God of peace would bruiſe ſatan under our feet, now the Lord of peace give you peace always, by all means, &c.

Queſt. Whether Mr. *Parris's* going to *Abigail Williams* (and others) whom he ſuppoſed to have a ſpectral ſight (to be informed who were witches and who afflicted thoſe pretended ſufferers by witchcraft) in order to their being queſtioned upon their lives upon it, were not a turning after ſuch as had familiar ſpirits; and a greater wickedneſs than *Saul* was guilty of (in that he did not intend thereby bodily hurt to any others.)

And whether in a crime of ſuch a high nature, the making a ſlender and general confeſſion, without any propoſals of reparations, or due time of probation, ought ſo far to be accounted ſufficient, from ſuch a paſtor to his people.

And whether ſuch as were accuſed, or the ſurviving friends and relations of thoſe that were any ways ſufferers, by accuſations ſo by him proved, are in duty and conſcience bound to continue their reſpect, honour and ſupport to him, in the miniſtry, after ſuch known departures from the rule of God's word, and after ſuch dire effects as followed thereupon, under the penalty *of the duſt ſhaken*

from his feet, teſtifying againſt them, even ſo as to render them in a worſe caſe than thoſe of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*.

To the Honourable Wait Winthrop, Eliſha Cook, *and* Samuel Sewall, *Eſquires, Arbitrators indifferently choſen, between Mr.* Samuel Parris, *and the inhabitants of* Salem Village.

THE remonſtrances of ſeveral aggrieved perſons in the ſaid Village, with further reaſons why they conceive they ought not to hear Mr. *Parris*, nor to own him as a miniſter of the goſpel, nor to contribute any ſupport to him as ſuch, for ſeveral years paſt ; humbly offered as fit for conſideration.

We humbly conceive that having in *April* 1693, given our reaſons why we could not join with Mr. *Parris* in prayer, preaching, or ſacraments. If theſe reaſons are found ſufficient for our withdrawing, (and we cannot yet find but they are) then we conceive ourſelves virtually diſcharged, not only in conſcience, but alſo in law ; which requires maintenance to be given to ſuch as are orthodox, and blameleſs. The ſaid Mr. *Parris* having been teaching ſuch dangerous errors, and preached ſuch ſcandalous immoralities, as ought to diſcharge any (though ever ſo gifted otherways) from the work of the miniſtry.

Particularly in his oath againſt the lives of ſeveral, wherein he ſwears that the priſoners with their looks knock down thoſe pretended ſufferers. We humbly conceive, that he that ſwears to more than he is certain of, is equally guilty of perjury,

with

with him that ſwears to what is falſe. And tho' they did fall at ſuch a time, yet it could not be known that they did it, much leſs could they be certain of it; yet did ſwear poſitively againſt the lives of ſuch, as he could not have any knowledge but they might be innocent.

His believing the devil's accuſations, and readily departing from all charity to perſons, though of blameleſs and godly lives, upon ſuch ſuggeſtions, his promoting ſuch accuſations, as alſo his partiality therein, in ſtifling the accuſations of ſome, and the ſame time vigilantly promoting others; as we conceive are juſt cauſes for our refuſal, &c.

That Mr. *Parris*'s going to *Mary Walut*, or *Abigail Williams*, and directing others to them, to know who afflicted the people in their illneſſes; we underſtand this to be a dealing with them that have a familiar ſpirit, and an implicit denying the providence of God, who alone, as we believe, can ſend afflictions, or cauſe devils to afflict any; this we alſo conceive ſufficient to juſtify ſuch refuſal.

That Mr. *Parris* by theſe practices and principles, has been the beginner and procurer of the ſoreſt afflictions, not to this Village only, but to this whole country, that did ever befal them.

We the ſubſcribers, in behalf of ourſelves, and of ſeveral others of the ſame mind with us (touching theſe things) having ſome of us had our relations by theſe practices taken off by an untimely death; others have been impriſoned, and ſuffered in our perſons, reputations, and eſtates; ſubmit the whole to your honours deciſion, to determine

whether

whether we are or ought to be any ways obliged to honour, reſpect and ſupport ſuch an inſtrument of our miſeries ; praying God to guide your honours, to act herein, as may be for his glory, and the future ſettlement of our village, in amity and unity.

JOHN TARBALL,
SAMUEL NURSE,
JOS. PUTMAN,
DAN. ANDREW,
Attornies for the people of the Village.

Boſton, July 21, 1697.

According to the order of the aforeſaid arbitrators, the ſaid Mr. *Parris*, had ſome of his arrears paid him, as alſo a ſum of money for his repairs of the miniſterial houſe of the ſaid Village, and is diſmiſſed therefrom.

PART IV.

A letter of a gentleman, endeavouring to prove the received opinions about witchcraft.

SIR,

I TOLD you, I had ſome thoughts concerning witchcraft, and an intention of conferring with the gentleman, who has publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes about witchcraft, and perſons afflicted by them, lately here in New-England ; but ſince you have put thoſe three books into my hands, I find myſelf engaged in a very hard province, to give you my

my opinion of them. I plainly foreſee, that ſhould this ſcribbling of mine come to public view, it would diſpleaſe all parties, but that is the leaſt; moreover it is ſo far out of my road to ſet my thoughts to conſider a matter on every ſide, which in itſelf is ſo abſtruſe, and every ſtep I advance therein, if I miſs truth (which is a narrow and undivided line) I muſt tumble down headlong into the gulph of dangerous error; yet notwithſtanding I have forced myſelf to ſend theſe few lines, if ſo be I may clear to you a truth, you now ſeem to be offended at, becauſe of the ill conſequences, which (you think) lately have and again may be drawn from it, by the ill conduct of ſome men. I am not ignorant that the pious frauds of the ancient, and the inbred fire (I do not call it pride) of many of our modern divines have precipitated them to propagate, and maintain truth as well as fallehoods, in ſuch an unfair manner, as has given advantage to the enemy, to ſuſpect the whole doctrine, theſe men have profeſt to be nothing but a meer trick. But it is certain, that as no lover of truth will juſtify an illegitimate corollary, though drawn from a true propoſition; ſo neither will he reject a truth, becauſe ſome or many men take unfair means to prove it, or draw falſe conſequences from it: The many hereſies among chriſtians, muſt not give a mortal wound to the eſſence of the chriſtian religion; neither muſt any one chriſtian doctrine be exterminated, becauſe evil men make uſe of it, as a cloak to cover their own ſelf-ends; particularly; becauſe ſome men perhaps among all ſorts of chriſ-

tians, have under pretence of witchcraft coloured their own malice, pride and popularity ; we muſt not therefore conclude (firſt) that there are no witches (2.) or that witches cannot be convicted by ſuch clear and undeniable proof, as the law of God requires in the caſe of death (3.) or that a witch ſo convicted ought not to be put to death. 1. That there are witches is manifeſt from the precept of Moſes, *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a witch to live.* Exod. xxii. 18. For it is certain God would not have given a vain and unintelligible law, as this muſt be of putting witches to death, if there are no witches. But you object that this doth not anſwer our caſe, for we have formed another idea of witches than what can be gathered from ſcriptures ; you quote four places, viz. *Deut.* xiii. *Mat.* xxiv. *Acts* xiii. 2 *Tim.* iii. from all which you infer that witchcraft is a maligning and opunging the word, works and worſhip of God ; and by an extraordinary ſign, ſeeking to ſeduce any from it, and this you readily grant. But then you ſay, what is this to witches now a days ? who are ſaid to have made an explicit covenant with the devil, and to be impowered by him, to the doing of things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſides their natural courſe. This you ſay does not follow, and herein indeed conſiſts the whole controverſy ; therefore it is neceſſary, that firſt of all we clear this point, laying aſide thoſe prejudices we may have from the fatal application of this doctrine, to ſome (who were in your judgment) really at leaſt in law, and before men innocent. In a word, we are ſeeking after truth, and truth ſhall and will

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be truth, in ſpite of men and devils. I do not repeat this caution to foreſtall you, to believe the doctrine of witchcraft, as it is above defined, without inquiring into the reaſon and truth of it; only I deſire you to enquire into it, as a thing doubtful. For no man can be certain of a negative, unleſs either the affirmative imply a contradiction, or he can prove it by certain teſtimony, to neither of which you pretend; only you alledge it cannot be proved by ſcripture, *i. e.* you cannot prove it, nor have ſeen it proved by any other you have read on that ſubject. I am not ſo vain as to think I can do better than the learned authors you have conſulted with (though I know not what they have done, for I had no other book but the Bible, to make uſe of on this occaſion;) but becauſe I am ſatisfied myſelf, and am willing to communicate my reaſons, which I divide into three heads. 1. The appearance of angels. 2. The nature of poſſeſſion, and 3dly. the ſcripture notion of witchcraft. 1. Good angels did appear to *Abraham*, and did eat, *Gen.* xv. it ſeems he waſhed their feet, it is certain he ſaw and heard them, therefore there is no impoſſibility in angels being converſant with men. God is true, and whatever is contained in ſacred writ is true; if we poor ſhallow mortals do not comprehend the manner how, that argues only our weakneſs and ignorance in this dark priſon of fleſh, wherein we are incloſed, during our abode in this vale of miſery, but doth not in the leaſt infringe the verity of ſcripture; it is ſufficient that we undoubtedly know they have appeared unto men in bodily ſhape, and done their

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errand they were ſent on from God. Now if good angels have appeared, why may not bad? Surely the devils, becauſe fallen and evil, have not therefore loſt the nature of angels, neither is there any contradiction in their appearing in a bodily ſhape, now after any more than before their fall. But you will ſay you muſt allow of the appearances of good angels, becauſe of the ſcripture teſtimony; but not of bad, ſeeing there is no place of ſcripture that clearly proves it. *Mat.* 4. The words in the goſpel do as plainly ſignify the devil's outward appearance to our Saviour, when he was tempted, as can be expreſs'd, *and when the tempter came to him he ſaid—but he anſwered*—the ſame form St. *Luke* uſeth to ſignify the appearance of *Moſes* and *Elias*, in the transfiguration, *And behold there talked with him two men*: for what follows, ver. 31, *who appeared* is uſed to ſignify (not their appearance, but) the manner of their appearance *in great glory*. But you will urge that it is very eaſy to be underſtood, that *Moſes* and *Elias* did appear, becauſe they had human bodies; but that it is unintelligible to you, how the devil being a ſpirit can appear, a ſpirit, *i. e.* a ſubſtance void of all dimenſions; therefore the words in the hiſtory muſt not be taken in a literal ſenſe. Do not miſtake; though ſome philoſophers are of opinion (which whether true or falſe, is all one to our preſent argument) that a ſpirit's ſubſtance is extended, and hath beſides length, breadth and depth, a fourth dimenſion, *viz.* eſſential ſpiſſitude; yet the ſame do not ſay, that pure ſubſtance is perceptible by our bodily ſenſes; on the

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contrary, they tell us, that ſpirits are cloathed with vehicles, *i. e.* they are united to certain portions of matter, which they inform, move and actuate. Now this we muſt not reject as impoſſible, becauſe we cannot comprehend the formal reaſon, how a ſpirit acts upon matter: For who can give the reaſon, that upon the volition of the human ſoul, the hand ſhould be lifted up, or any ways moved? for to ſay the contradiction of the muſcles is the mechanic cauſe of voluntary motion, is not to ſolve the queſtion which recurs, why upon volition ſhould that contradiction enſue which cauſes that motion? all that I know the wiſeſt man ever ſaid upon this head, is, that it is the will of the Creator; who has ordered ſuch a ſpecies of thinking creatures, by a catholic law to be united to ſuch portions of matter, ſo and ſo diſpoſed, or, if you will in the vulgar phraſe, to organized bodies, and that there ſhould be between them and the ſeveral bodies, they are united to a mutual re-action and paſſion: now you ſee how little we know of the reaſon, of that which is moſt near to us, and moſt certain, *viz.* the ſoul's informing the body. yet you would think it a bad argument, if one ſhould, as ſome have done, include from this our ignorance, that there was nothing in us but matter, it is no otherways to deny a ſpirits acting a vehicle. The plaineſt and moſt certain things when denied are hardeſt to be proved, therefore the Axiom ſaith well, *contra principia, &c.* There are ſome certain truths which are rather to be explained to young beginners than proved, upon which all ſcience is built, as

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every whole is more than his part, and of this ſort I take theſe two following. 1. That there are two ſubſtances, *Corpus* and *Mens*, body and ſpirit, altogether different, for the ideas we have of them are quite diſtinct. 2. That a ſpirit can actuate, aminate, or inform a certain portion of matter and be united to it ; from whence it is very evident, that the devil united to a portion of matter (which hereafter I'll call a vehicle) may fall under the cognizance of our ſenſes, and be converſant with us in a bodily ſhape. Where then is the reaſon or need to run to a Metaphorical, and forced interpretation, when the words are ſo plain, and the literal ſenſe implieth no contradiction, nor any greater difficulty than (as has been ſaid) what ariſeth from the Union of the ſoul and body, which is moſt certain. Now after all to ſay, God *will not* permit the devil ſo to appear, is to beg the queſtion without ſaying any thing to the preceeding argument, and it is againſt the ſenſe of almoſt all mankind ; for in all ages, and all places there have been many witneſſes of the appearances of *Dæmons*, all of whom that taught any thing contrary to the right worſhip of the true God, were certainly evil ones : and it were moſt preſumptuous, barely to aſſert that all theſe witneſſes were always deceived, and it is impoſſible they could all agree to deceive. 2. We come to conſider the nature of poſſeſſion. The man poſſeſt, *Luk.* viii. 27. had a power more than natural, for he break the bands, which he could not have done with his own ſtrength : now from whom had he this power ? The ſcripture ſaith,

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he had devils along time, and oftentimes it had caught him, &c. he was kept bound with chains and in fetters, and he break the bands, and was driven of the devil into the wilderneſs; this power then was immediately from the devil, and whatſoever a poſſeſſed perſon does, or ſuffers things beyond his natural power; he is enabled by the *Dæmon* ſo to do: or to ſpeak more properly, it is the *Dæmon* who acteth the ſame, as is plain from St. *Mark's* relation of this paſſage, v. 5. 2. A man with an unclean ſpirit, v. 3. 2. and no man could bind him, no, not with chains, 6. v. but when he ſaw Jeſus afar off he ran and worſhipped him, and the ſame He. v. 7. ſaid I adjure thee by God that thou torment me not, and *v.* 10. My name is *Legion*, for we are many, *v.* 11. and he beſought him much, that he would not ſend them away out of the country: it is manifeſt from hence, that it was not the poor man who was poſſeſt, but the devils who poſſeſſed him, by whom the chains had been plucked aſunder, and the fetters broken in pieces; now here is divine teſtimony, that the devils have actuated a human body to the doing of things beyond the natural ſtrength of that body, as it was ſimply united to its human ſoul; how much more then can the devil actuate any other proportion of ſimple matter, Earth, Air, Fire or Water; and make it a fit organ for himſelf to act in.

But enough of this already, let us rather enquire how the devil enters into the body of the poſſeſt, to move it at his pleaſure; this I think he cannot do as a meer ſpirit, or by any never ſo

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ſtrict Union with the human ſoul, for in that caſe he is only a tempter of ſeducer; and nothing above human ſtrength can be done: but here there being ſomething performed (the bonds broken) by a force which could not proceed from human ſtrength, it neceſſarily follows that the devils entered into the poſſeſt, otherways qualified them as a meer ſpirit, he did not enter without ſome portion of matter, to which he was united by the entermedium, whereof he acted upon and actuated the human body. Again if it is ſaid that the devil entered as a mere ſpirit, and immediately acted upon and moved that body; it follows the devil hath a vehicle, a certain portion of matter (that body) to actuate and diſpoſe of at will; which is abſurd. 1. Becauſe it aſſerts what it ſeems to deny, *viz.* the devil's having a vehicle to act immediately upon, and to be united to a portion of matter (as has been ſaid before) is the ſame thing. 2. It fights againſt the catholic law of the union of ſoul and body by which the Omnipotent hath ordained the voluntary motion of a human body to depend upon the will of its human ſoul, and thoſe that are not voluntary to proceed either from its own mechaniſon, or material force, hence we may certainly conclude, that it is by the intervening of the devil's vehicle, that he enters into the body of the poſſeſt. But what if you and I cannot agree about this notion of poſſeſſion, muſt we therefore reject the truth itſelf, and run to a far fetched and intolerable ſenſe of the words; no, our opinions do not alter the nature of things,

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it is certain there were perſons poſſeſt, and it is as certain that the devil entered into them, either with or without a vehicle, it is all one which part of the contradiction you take, the conſequence is the ſame, *viz.*

That the devil doth act immediately upon matter, there is another acceptation of the word poſſeſſion in ſcripture, *Acts* xvi. 16. where one is ſaid to be poſſeſt with a ſpirit of divination, the word commonly uſed to the prieſteſs of *Apollo*, who gave reſponſes ; and it ſeems this damſel was ſuch an one, for ſhe brought her maſters much money, or gain by ſoothſaying, till they were full of the God. Now if the hiſtory of them be true that they were demented, and knew not themſelves what they uttered, (as they word it) their caſe is not different, but the ſame with the foregoing ; but if they underſtood what they ſpoke, then had they familiar ſpirits, whereof there is frequent mention made in the Old Teſtament, and one good king is commended for having cut off them that had ſuch, therefore I think the meaning of the word was very obvious in his time, neither was it ever controverted, being joined with any other name than ſpirit familiar, one of our own family, that is oft, every day converſant with us, and almoſt ever ready upon call to attend us. But the conſideration of them, who have familiar ſpirits, falleth under the head of witchcraft, which we are to conſider in the third place. 3. Witchcraft, to inquire into the ſcripture notion of it, and compare whether it be the ſame with that above defined ; the cabaliſtick

learning would be of great uſe in this ſearch, and afford us much light; there is little doubt but that there are many great truths not commonly known. And our Saviour expreſſly cautions his diſciples that they do not throw their pearl before ſwine; therefore it is no wonder that ſome doctrines, though unqueſtionably true are not ſo fully deſcribed, becauſe the authors who treat of them are afraid, leſt evil men ſhould be the more depraved by being informed; but I am in no ſuch fear; nor can I give you any other thoughts but what are obvious to any man, from the plain ſenſe of the ſcripture. Our definition we'll divide into two propoſitions, and handle them ſeverally. 1. Propoſition. The witch is impowered by the devil to do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſide their natural cauſe. 2. Prop. The manner how the witch is impowered to do thoſe ſtrange things, is by explicit compact, or covenant with the devil. For clearing of the firſt, we will conſider the four places above cited, wherein a witch is called a falſe prophet, a falſe Chriſt, a ſorcerer, a reſiſter of the truth, and is ſaid to ſhew ſigns to ſeduce the people to ſeek after other Gods: whence let us note, three things. 1. That thoſe terms witch, falſe Chriſt, falſe prophet, and ſorcerer, are all ſynonimous; *i. e.* ſignify the ſame thing. 2. That a witch doth do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beyond their natural courſe: for it were moſt ridiculous, to alledge that our bleſſed Saviour, when he ſaid, *there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts*, and ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders, in ſo much that (if it

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were poſſible) they ſhould deceive the very elect, meant that cunning cheats ſhould ariſe and ſhew legerdemain tricks ; the words will in no wiſe bear it, and I believe you are from thus interpreting them, ſo it it is manifeſt, they ſignify not a feigned, but a real doing of things, beyond their natural courſe ; therefore the ſorceries of *Elimas* and *Simon* were not ſimple deluſions, but real effects that could not have been produced by phyſical cauſes in the ordinary courſe of nature. 3. That the end of the witches' ſhewing theſe ſigns, is to ſeduce the people to ſeek after other Gods, from which premiſes I infer, that the witches have the power of doing thoſe wonders, or ſtrange things immediately from the devil : they are without the reach of nature, and therefore above human power, and no meer man can effect them ; the witch then who does them muſt have the power of doing them from another ; but who is the other ? God will not give his teſtimony to a lie, and to ſay God did at any time impower a witch to work wonders to gain belief to the doctrine of devils were with one breath to deſtroy root and branch of all revealed religion ; no, it cannot be, it is only God's permiſſion, who proveth his people, whether they love him with all their heart, and with all their ſoul. Therefore the witch has a power of doing wonders, or ſtrange things immediately from the devil. 2. Propoſition, we will ſubdivide into theſe two. 1. That there is an expreſs covenant between the witch and the devil. 2. That it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe this covenant to be tranſacted mentally.

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1. The devil cannot communicate this power, by never ſo ſtrict a union with the ſoul of the witch; for in that caſe he is only a tempter, and nothing above human power can be done, as has been already proved; therefore the devil, who improves the witch to do things above human power, muſt either appear in an external ſhape, and inſtruct him how, and upon what terms he will enable him to do thoſe wonders; or elſe he muſt enter into the body of the witch and poſſeſs it. The demoniacs in the goſpel are ſuch whom the devils invade by main force, their ſoul having no further command of their bodies, which are ſubjected to the will of the devils; whoſe end is to wound and torment thoſe miſerable creatures, to throw them into the fire, and into the water; but the witch, who likewiſe is poſſeſſed, is not treated in ſuch an outrageous manner, his Dæmon is tame and familiar unto him, and ſuffers him for a time to live quietly, without any further moleſtation, then prompting him to do his utmoſt endeavour to withdraw men from God; he is not bereaved of his ſenſes as the poor lunatick, but is conſcious of all he does, and willeth all his crimes, he receiveth power from the devil to do wonders, and doth them to ſerve the devil's turn. Therefore there muſt be a covenant, an expreſs covenant, between the devil and him, viz. that he ſhall obey the devil and ſerve him, and that the devil ſhall both enable him ſo to do, and alſo reward him for ſo doing; for if there is no contract between them, how comes the witch to know he has a ſupernatural power? or how can he ſo peremptorily

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pretend to do that which is ſo much above his natural power, not knowing he has a ſupernatural one enabling him to do the ſame : There can be no doubt but there was a very intimate commerce between Satan and him ; who is called by St. *Paul* thou child of the devil (not as other unholy men but) in an eſpecial manner, as being the enemy of all righteouſneſs, who would not ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord, it is not to be ſuppoſed that he entered into this ſo near a relation with Satan, with which he is ſtigmatized, that others may beware of him, without his own knowledge and conſent ; and is not this a covenant, an expreſs covenant on his part to ſerve the devil inceſſantly, and on the devils to impower him to act his ſorceries wherewith he bewitched the people ; now I think, I have from ſcripture fully ſatisfied you of the truth of what I offered, in a diſcourſe at —— but ſince you have told me an explicit covenant with the devil, ſignifying the devil's appearing in a bodily ſhape to the witch, and their ſignifying an expreſs covenant, which you ſay cannot be proved from ſcripture. It were moſt unreaſonable to imagine that the ceremonies of this helliſh myſtery are particularly ſet down in the word of God ; therefore we muſt gather by analogy and reaſon the matter how this expreſs covenant is tranſacted ; and to that end I will ſet down theſe following conſiderations.

1. Under the law God did ordain his people in all their matters to have recourſe immediately to himſelf, and depend upon him for counſel, which they were ready to obey, with full aſſurance of aid

and protection from him againſt their enemies; this the devil imitateth by ſetting up of oracles among the heathen, to which all the kings, nations, and mighty conquerors upon earth did come and paid their humbleſt adoration to the God (as the devil blaſphemouſly called himſelf) of the temple, in which they were imploring his direction and aſſiſtance in their doubtful and proſperous affairs. Again, God inſtituted ſacrifices to put men in mind of their duty to the Creator, to whom they owe all things, even themſelves; but the devil is not contented with the bare imitation hereof; the acknowledgment and worſhip he receiveth from the deluded world is not enough, though they offer up unto him innumerable hecatombs, unleſs they cauſe their children to paſs through the fire unto him, to whom no ſacrifice is ſo well pleaſing, as that of human blood. And there is no reaſon to think, that now under the œconomy of the goſpel, the devil hath left off to vie with God, and thereby to enſnare men. No, it is rather to be feared that this kingdom doth now more prevail, for by how much the light is greater; ſo much greater is their condemnation, who do not receive it: it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that (ſeeing the ſon of God, when he came to tranſact with men, the wonderful covenant of their redemption, took upon him their nature, and was perfect man) the devil likewiſe doth counterfeit the ſame, in appearing in an human ſhape to them, who receive him, and confederate themſelves with him, and become his vaſſals.

2. Conſider, it is not probable that thoſe falſe

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apoſtles mentioned, 2 *Cor.* xi. 13. erred only in ceremonies or circumſtances, or that their errors, though great, did proceed rather from their ignorance, than from the perverſeneſs of their minds. 1 *Cor.* iii. 15. For, for ſuch we may have charity and hope, that God will be merciful unto them, if they ſincerely do the beſt they know, though they diſſent in ſome, nay many things, from the practices and belief of the chriſtian church; but thoſe St. *Paul* threatens with a heavy curſe, that their end ſhall be according to their works; therefore it ſeems they immediately ſtruck at the very root and being of the chriſtian religion, and were the ſame with them ſpoken of, 2 *Tim.* iii. 6. but with this difference, that they did not reſiſt, but beholding the miracles and ſigns which were done by the true apoſtle of our Lord, wondered and believed alſo, and were baptized; yet being ſorcerers they were unwilling to loſe that great eſteem they had obtained; as it is related of *Simon*, who had bewitched the people of *Samaria*, giving out that he himſelf was ſome great one, to whom they all gave heed, from the leaſt to the greateſt, ſaying, this man is the great power of God, therefore he could not brook that *Peter* or *John* ſhould have a greater power than himſelf; but offered them money, that on whomſoever he laid hands, he (that perſon) ſhould receive the Holy Ghoſt; which ſhews him, who thus deſigned to make merchandize of the Spirit, though baptized, to have been no true believer, but ſtill a ſorcerer in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity; ſuch were thoſe deceitful workers, who not being

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able barefaced to reſiſt, did put on chriſtianity as a maſk, that they might undermine the truth, and introduce the doctrines of devils. *Samaria* and *Paphos*, were not the only two places where the devil had ſuch agents, there was no part of the earth where his kingdom was not eſtabliſhed, and where he had not his emiſſaries before the preaching of the goſpel; and ſince the text telleth us he hath his miniſters, who imitate their maſter, by being transformed into the apoſtles of Chriſt, as he himſelf is transformed into an angel of light: whoſe deſign, in being thus transformed, cannot be to impoſe upon the Almighty; for whatever ſhape he appears in, he cannot hide his uglineſs from the eyes of him who is omnicient, therefore he appeareth thus in the ſhape of an angel of light, either to tempt and ſeduce the bleſſed ſpirits to rebel againſt God, or to enſnare wicked men, who by their heinous crimes (being lovers of themſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud blaſphemers) were before diſpoſed to be fit inſtruments to ſerve him, and to enter into league with him. Surely I, who am ignorant of the laws by which the intellectual world is governed, dare not affirm that it is impoſſible for ſatan ſo to appear, as to hide his deformities from the good angels, and under that vail to tempt them: But certain I am that it is more conſonant to reaſon, to think that the apoſtle's intention here was to teach that the devil appeared as a glorified angel unto men to gain miniſters, whom he might imbue with the poiſon of his black-art, and (when he had gotten full poſſeſſion of them) inſtruct them by his own example

ample to transform themſelves into the apoſtles of Chriſt, that under that vizard they might with the greater advantage promote his ends, and join with him in doing the utmoſt deſpite to the ſpirit of grace.

3. Conſideration, it is againſt the nature of this covenant, that it ſhould be conſummated by a mental colloquy, between the devil and the witch. I know not how many articles it conſiſts of, but it is certain from what has been already proved, that the renouncing of Chriſt to be the ſon of God, and owning the devil to be, and worſhipping him as God, are the two chiefs, to which our Saviour who was accuſed of caſting out devils by Beelzebub *i. e.* of being confederated with Beelzebub, was tempted to conſent: *If thou be the ſon of God command that theſe ſtones be made bread:* and again, *throw thyſelf down from hence, for it is written, he will give his angels charge over thee; and again all theſe things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worſhip me:* Whence it is evident that here the devil laboured to inſinuate into our Lord, either to do things raſh and unwarrantable, or to ſuſpect his ſonſhip, revolt from God his father, and worſhip Satan, that he might obtain the glory of the world. Now it has been already ſaid, that when Jeſus was tempted, the devil appeared unto him in a bodily ſhape; therefore it is agreeable to reaſon, that he doth appear in the ſame manner to all them, whom he alſo tempteth to worſhip him: moreover the form of renouncing a covenant ought to bear reſemblance to the form of

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entering into the ſame covenant ; therefore men who are received into the myſtical body of Chriſt by God's miniſter, who in God's ſtead expreſſly covenanteth with and then adminiſtereth the ſacrament of baptiſm unto them, muſt in the like manner go out of, or renounce the ſaid covenant ; and of them there are two ſorts, one who through the perverſeneſs of their own hearts, the lucre of the world, the fear of men more than of God, abjure their Saviour, turn Apoſtles, Turks, or Pagans ; The other ſort is of them who contract with the devil to be his ſubjects, in the imitation of whom, it is not to be ſuppoſed that the devil will omit any material circumſtances, which tend both to bring them into and confirm them in his ſervice. To effect which his outward appearance, when he receives his catechumens is of greater force than any mental contract, for many wicked men who have denied God and Chriſt not only in their practice, but alſo blaſphemouſly in profeſſion, yet have repented, and at laſt obtained ſome hope of mercy ; I dare not ſay it is impoſſible for a witch to repent and find mercy, the ſecrets of the Almighty are too high for me ; but it is certain that theſe wretches are ſtrangely hardened, by what paſſes between them and the devil, in a bodily ſhape, particularly their worſhipping him, which neceſſarily implies his outward appearance unto them ; for no man can love evil as evil, becauſe the law of ſelf-preſervation deeply rooted in all men determineth their will to purſue that which ſeems good, and fly from that which ſeems evil to them, but the inbred notions

that every man has of the devil, is, that he is an enemy and deſtroyer of mankind, therefore every man hath a natural averſion from him, and conſequently cannot formally worſhip him as ſuch, becauſe the object of worſhip muſt be eſteemed to be propitious and placable by the worſhippers, otherwiſe if fear alone be the edequate cauſe of adoration, it follows that the devils and damned in hell do worſhip God, which is contrary to ſcripture, which ſaith they blaſphemed, becauſe of their pains, whence it follows, that they who worſhip the devil muſt have changed the innate idea that they had of him, *viz.* that he is an implacable worrier of men, and take him to be benign at leaſt to his own ; but this change cannot be wrought by any ſuggeſtion of Satan into the minds of men, who indeed he mentally tempteth to luſt, pride and malice ; but it is his greateſt artifice to cauſe his inſinuations to ariſe in the hearts of men, as their own natural thoughts, and if conſcience diſcovers their author and opoſes them, then he varniſhes them over with the ſpecious colours of pleaſure, honour and glory ; and ſo repreſents them as really good, to be willed and deſired by the ſoul, which judgeth of all things without agreeing to the ideas ſhe hath of them ; but becauſe moſt objects have two, and ſome many faces, and ſhe not always attends, therefore ſhe often errs in her choice, nevertheleſs it is impoſſible for her to love an object, whoſe ſimple idea is evil ; but the idea we have of the devil is ſuch, for we cannot repreſent him in our minds any otherwiſe than the great deſtroyer of

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men, therefore no mental temptation can make us believe this our grand enemy to be ever exorable by, or in any meaſure favourable to us, whence it evidently follows, that the devil to work this change of opinion his worſhippers have of him, muſt appear unto them in a bodily ſhape, and impoſe upon them, whom becauſe of their great corruption and ſinfulneſs, God hath wholly left and given up to ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lie, and the father of lies; who now appearing in a human ſhape, telleth them that he is not ſuch a monſter, as he has been repreſented to them by his enemy, who calls himſelf God, which title of right belongs to him, and that he (if they contract to be his ſervants) will both amply reward them by giving them power to do many things very ſuitable to their bominable depraved nature, that the chriſtians, whatever opinion they may pretend to have of their God, cannot ſo much as pretend to, and alſo that he will protect and defend them againſt him, whom heretofore they have miſtaken for the Almighty, and his pretended Son Chriſt, whom muſt abjure before they can be received by or expect any benefit from him. Upon no other conſideration is it poſſible for any man to worſhip the devil; for the atheiſts, who deny the being of a God, do likewiſe deny the exiſtence of any ſpirit good or bad; therefore their drinking the devil's health, even upon their knees (though a moſt horrid crime) cannot be conſtrued any part of worſhip paid to him, whom they aſſert to be a chimera, a meer figment of ſtateſmen to keep

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the vulgar in awe. Now I have evinced to you that there are witches, that the witch receiveth power from the devil to do ſtrange things, that there is an expreſs covenant between the devil and the witch, that this covenant cannot be tranſacted mentally, but that the devil muſt appear in a bodily ſhape to the witch; therefore I conclude, that a witch in the ſcripture is ſuch, who has made an explicit covenant with the devil, and is impowered by him to do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſide their natural courſe.

2. I perſuade myſelf you do not expect from me any eſſay concerning the methods how witches may or ought to be convinced; I wiſh thoſe gentlemen, whoſe eminent ſtation both enables them to perform it, and likewiſe makes it their duty ſo to do, may take this province upon them, and handle it ſo fully as to ſatisfy you herein. I once intended to have provided ſome materials for this work, by defining four principal things relating to witchcraft, viz. 1. Witch-fits. 2. The imps that are ſaid to attend on the witch. 3. The tranſportation of the witch through the air. 4. Laſtly, the inviſibility of the witch; but upon ſecond tho't that it was foreign from my purpoſe, who am not concerned to compoſe a juſt treatiſe of witchcraft, which would require more vacant time, than my preſent circumſtances will allow, only I propoſed you to give you my opinion privately; therefore I will venture to make uſe of argument, which ſheweth neither art nor learning in the author, and it is this, that ſeeing there are witches, and that the law of God doth command them to

be put to death ; therefore there muſt be means to convict them, by clear and certain proof, otherwiſe the law were in vain ; for no man can be juſtly condemned, who is not fairly convicted by full and certain evidence.

3. In the laſt place we are to inquire whether a witch ought to be put to death or no ? you anſwer in the negative ; becauſe you ſay that that law, thou ſhalt not ſuffer a witch to live, is *judicial*, and extendeth only to the people of the Jews ; but our Saviour, or his apoſtles have not delivered any where any ſuch command, therefore they ought to be ſuffered to live, this indeed ſeems ſomewhat plauſible at firſt view, but upon thorough examination hath no weight in it at all for theſe reaſons, 1. All penal laws receive their ſanction from him or them, who have the ſovereign power in any ſtate, as thou ſhalt not commit adultery, is a moral-law, and obligatory over the conſciences of men in all places and ages ; but the adulterers ſhall be put to death is a judicial law, and in force only in that ſtate, where it is enacted by the ſovereign. 2. The government of the Jews was a theocracy, and God himſelf condeſcended to be their King, not only as he is King of Kings ; for in that ſenſe he is, always was, and ever will be ſupreme Lord, and Governour of all his creatures ; but in an eſpecial manner to give them laws for the government of their ſtate, and to protect them againſt their enemies ; in one word to be immediately their Sovereign. 3. Our Saviour's kingdom was not of this world, he was no judge to divide ſo much as an inheritance be-

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tween two brethren ; nay, he himſelf ſubmitted patiently to the unjuſt ſentence of the Governour of the country in which he lived ; therefore both the rewards and puniſhments annexed to his laws are ſpiritual, and then ſhall have their full accompliſhment, when the Son of man at the laſt day ſhall pronounce, *Come unto me ye bleſſed, and depart ye curſed into everlaſting fire.* 4. That ſovereigns, who have received the goſpel of our Lord, have not therefore loſt their power of enacting laws for the ruling and preſerving their people, and puniſhing malefactors even with death ; ſo that the criminal is as juſtly condemned to die by our municipal, as he was heretofore by the judicial law among the Jews : How much more then ought our law to advert againſt the higheſt of all criminals, thoſe execrable men and women, who though yet alive, have liſted themſelves under ſatan's banner, and explicitly ſworn allegiance to him, to fight againſt God and Chriſt ; indeed all unholy men afford great matter to the devils of blaſpheming, but theſe wretches have confederated themſelves with the devils, to blaſpheme and deſtroy all they can ; and do you think that theſe common enemies of God and mankind ought to be ſuffered to live in a chriſtian common wealth, eſpecially conſidering that we have a precedent of putting them to death from God himſelf, when he acted as king over his own peculiar people. But methinks I hear you ſaying, all this doth not ſatisfy me, for I am ſure nothing can be added to the devil's malice, and if he could, he certainly would appear and frighten all men out of their wits. I

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anſwer, 1. We muſt not reject a truth, becauſe we cannot reſolve all the queſtions that may be propoſed about it; otherwiſe all our ſcience muſt be turned into ſcepticiſm, for we have not a comprehenſive knowledge of any one thing. 2. When you ſay, that if the devil could, he would appear and frighten all men; the lawful conſequence is not that he cannot appear at all, for we have undoubtedly proved the contrary; but that we are ignorant of the bounds that the Almighty hath ſet to him, whoſe malice indeed, if he were not reſtrained, is ſo great as to deſtroy all men; but the goodneſs of our God is greater, who hath given us means to eſcape his fury, if we will give earneſt heed to the goſpel of our Saviour, which only is able to comfort us againſt the ſad and miſerable condition of our preſent ſtate, for not only the devils, but likewiſe all do conſpire againſt us to work our ruin: The deluge came and ſwept away all the race (ſave eight perſons) of mankind: the fire will in time devour what the water has left, and all this cometh to paſs becauſe of ſin; but we who have received the Lord Jeſus, look for new heavens, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs. Therefore he, if we purify ourſelves as he is pure, will ſave us (for when he appears we ſhall be made like unto him; to whom be glory for ever, Amen) from the great deſtruction that muſt come upon all the world, and the inhabitants thereof. Farewell.

March 8th 1693.

Boſton,

Boſton, March 20, 1693.

Worthy Sir,

THE great pains you have taken for my information and ſatisfaction in thoſe controverted points relating to witchcraft, whether it attain the end or not, cannot require leſs than ſuitable acknowledgments and gratitude, eſpecially conſidering you had no particular obligation of office to it, and when others, whoſe proper province it was had declined it. It is a great truth, that the many hereſies among the chriſtians (not the lying miracles, or witchcrafts uſed by ſome to induce to the worſhip of images, &c.) muſt not give a mortal wound to chriſtianity or truth; but the great queſtion in theſe controverted points ſtill is, what is truth. And in this ſearch being agreed in the judge or rule, there is great hopes of the iſſue. That there are witches is plain from that rule of truth, the ſcriptures, which commands their puniſhment by death. But what that witchcraft is, or wherein it does conſiſt is the whole difficulty. That head cited from Mr *Gaule*, and ſo well proved thereby (not denied by any) makes the work yet ſhorter; ſo that it is agreed to conſiſt in a malignity, &c. and ſeeking by a ſign to ſeduce, &c. not excluding any other ſorts or branches, when as well proved by that infallible rule. That good angels have appeared is certain, though that inſtance of thoſe to *Abraham* may admit of a various conſtruction; ſome divines ſuppoſing them to be the Trinity, others that they were men-meſſengers, as *Judges* ii. 1. and others

that they were angels ; but though this as I ſaid might admit of a debate, yet I ſee no queſtion of the angel *Gabriel*'s appearance, particularly to the bleſſed Virgin ; for though the angels are ſpirits, and ſo not perceptible by our bodily eyes without the appointment of the moſt high, yet he, who who made all things by his word in the creation, can with a word ſpeak things into being. And whether the angels did aſſume matter (or a vehicle) and by that appear to the bodily eye ; or whether by the ſame word there were an idea framed in the mind, which needed no vehicle to repreſent them to the intellects, is with the All-wiſe, and not for me to diſpute. If we poor ſhallow mortals do not comprehend the manner how, that argues only our weakneſs. Two other times did this glorious angel appear. *Dan.* viii. 16. *Dan.* ix. 21. The firſt of theſe times was in viſion, as by the text and context will appear. The ſecond was the ſame as the firſt ; which being conſidered, as it will aſcertain that angels have appeared ; ſo that it is at the will of the ſender how they ſhall appear, whether to the bodily eye, or intellect only. *Mat.* i. 20. The appearance of the angel to *Joſeph* was in a dream, and yet a real appearance ; ſo was there a real appearance to the apoſtle, but whether in the body or out of the body he could not tell ; and that they are ſent and come not of their own motion. *Luke* i. 26. *And in the ſixth month the angel* Gabriel *was ſent from God.* Dan. ix. 23. *At the beginning of thy ſupplication the commandment came forth, and I am come*, v. 21. *Being cauſed to fly ſwiftly*, &c. but from theſe places may

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be ſet down as undoubted truths or concluſions,

1. That the glorious angels have their miſſion and commiſſion from the moſt high.

2. That without this they cannot appear to mankind. And from theſe two will neceſſarily flow a third.

3. That if the glorious angels have not that power to go till commiſſioned, or to appear to mortals, then not the fallen angels; who are held in chains of darkneſs to the judgment of the great day. Therefore to argue, that becauſe the good angels have appeared the evil may or can, is to me as if—becauſe the dead have been raiſed to life by holy prohets, therefore men, wicked men can raiſe the dead. As the ſufferings, ſo the temptations of our Saviour were (in degree) beyond thoſe comman to man; he being the ſecond *Adam*, or public head, the ſtrongeſt aſſaults were now improved; and we read that he was tempted, that he might be able to ſuccour them that are tempted, as alſo that he was led of the ſpirit into the wilderneſs, that he might be tempted, &c. But how the tempter appeared to him who was God Omniſcient; whether to the bodily eye or to the intellect, is as far beyond my cognizance as for a blind man to judge of colours. But from the whole ſet down this fourth concluſion.

4. That when the Almighty free agent has a work to bring about for his own glory, or man's good; he can employ not only bleſſed angels, but the evil ones in it, as 2 *Cor.* xii. 7. *And leſt I ſhould be exalted above meaſure, there was given to me a thorn in the fleſh, the meſſenger of Satan to buffet me.*

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1. *Sam.* 10. xiv, xv, xxiii. An evil ſpirit from the Lord troubled him. It is a great truth that we underſtand little, very little, and that in common things, how much leſs then in ſpirituals, ſuch as are above human cognizance. But though upon the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny in ſome natural things we can only diſcover our ignorance, yet we muſt not hence deny what we do know, or ſuffer a rape to be committed upon our reaſon and ſenſes in the dark; and ſay that the devil by his ordinary power can act a vehicle *(i. e.)* ſome matter diſtinct from himſelf, who is wholly a ſpirit, and yet this matter not to be felt nor heard, and at the ſame time to be ſeen; or may be felt, and not heard nor ſeen, &c. ſeems to me to be a chimera, invented at firſt to puzzle the belief of reaſonable creatures, and ſince calculated to a Roman latitude, to uphold the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; who teach that under the accidents of bread is contained the body of our Saviour, his human body, as long, and as broad, &c. for here the power of the Almighty muſt not be confined to be leſs than the devil's, and it is he that has ſaid, *hoc eſt meum Corpus*, as to the conſent of almoſt all ages, I meddle not now with it, but come to the fifth concluſion.

5. That when the divine being will employ the agency of evil ſpirits for any ſervice, it is with him to determine how they ſhall exhibit themſelves, whether to the bodily eye, or intellect only; and whether it ſhall be more or leſs formidable—To deny theſe three laſt were to make the devil an independent power and conſequently a God. As to the nature and poſſeſſions by evil ſpirits, for

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the better underſtanding of it, it may be needful to compare it with its contraries ; and to inſtance in *Samſon*, of whom it was foretold, that he ſhould begin to deliver *Iſrael*, and how was he enabled to this work ? *Judges* xiii. 25. *The ſpirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp*, &c. chap. xv. 13, 14. v. *and they bound him with two new cords, and brought him up from the rock, and when they came to* Lehi, *the Philiſtines ſhouted againſt him, and the ſpirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his arms became as flax, that was burnt with fire, and his hands looſed from his hands*, &c. I might inſtance further, but this may ſuffice to ſhow that he had more than a natural ſtrength, as alſo whence his ſtrength was, viz. he was impowered by the ſpirit from God. And now will any ſay, that it was not *Samſon*, but the ſpirit that did theſe things, or that there being things done, bonds broken, &c. by a force that could not proceed from human ſtrength, and that therefore the ſpirit entered into him, otherwiſe qualified than as meer ſpirit ; or that the ſpirit entered not without ſome portion of matter, and by the intermediation thereof acted *Samſon's* body. If any ſay this and more too, this doth not alter the truth, which remains, viz. that the ſpirit of God did enable *Samſon* to the doing of things beyond his natural ſtrength. And now what remains but upon parity of reaſon, to apply this to the caſe of poſſeſſion, which may be ſummed up in this ſixth concluſion.

6. That God for wiſe ends, only known to himſelf, may and has impowered devils to poſſeſs and

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ſtrangely to actuate human bodies, even to the doing of things beyond the natural ſtrength of that body. And for any to tell of a vehicle, or matter uſed in it, I muſt obſerve that general rule, *Coloſ.* ii. 8. Beware leſt any ſpoil you through philoſophy, and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt. To come next to that of witchcraft, and here taking that cited head of Mr. *Gaul*, to be uncontroverted, ſet it as a ſeventh concluſion.

7. That witchcraft conſiſts in a maligning and oppoſing the word, work and worſhip of God, and ſeeking by any extraordinary ſign to ſeduce any from it. *Deut.* xiii. 12. *Matt.* xxiv. 24. *Acts* xiii. 8, 10. 2 *Tim.* iii. 8. Do but mark well the places, and for this very property of thus oppoſing and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute witches; and it will be eaſily granted, that the ſame that is called witch, is called a falſe Chriſt, a falſe prophet, and a ſorcerer, and that the terms are ſynonimous; and that what the witches aim at is, to ſeduce the people to ſeek after other Gods. But here the queſtion will be, whether the witch really do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beyond their natural courſe, and all this by a power immediately from the devil. In this inquiring, as we have nothing to do with unwritten verities, ſo but little with cabaliſtick learning, which might perhaps but lead us more aſtray, as in the inſtance of their charging our Saviour with caſting out devils by Beelzebub, his anſwer is if ſatan be divided againſt himſelf, his

kingdom

kingdom hath an end: but ſeeing all are agreed ſet this eighth concluſion.

8. That God will not give his teſtimony to a lie. To ſay that God did at any time impower a witch to work wonders, to gain belief to the doctrine of devils, were with one breath to deſtroy the root and branch of all revealed religion. And hence it is clear the witch has no ſuch wonder-working power from God; and muſt we then conclude ſhe has ſuch a miraculous power from the devil; if ſo, then it follows that either God gives the devil leave to impower the witch to make uſe of this ſeal, in order to deceive, or elſe that the devil has this power independent of himſelf; to aſſert the firſt of theſe were in effect to ſay, that though God will not give his teſtimony to a lie, yet that he may impower the devil to ſet to God's own Seal, in order to deceive; and what were this but to overthrow all revealed religion. The laſt if aſſerted muſt be to own the devil to be an unconquered enemy, and conſequently a ſovereign deity, and deſerving much thanks, that he exerts his power no more. Therefore in this dilemma it is wiſdom for ſhallow mortals to have recourſe to their only guide, and impartially to inquire, whether the witches really have ſuch a miraculous or wonder-working power? And 'tis remarkable that the apoſtle, *Gal.* v. 20. reckons up witchcraft among the works of the fleſh, which were it indeed a wonder-working power, received immediately from the devil, and wholly beyond the power of nature; it were very improper to place it with drunkenneſs, murthers,

thers, adulteries, &c. all manifeſt fleſhly works. 'Tis alſo remarkable, that witchcraft is generally in ſcripture joined with ſpiritual whoredom, *i. e.* idolatry. This thence will plainly appear to be the ſame, only pretending to a ſign, in order to deceive, ſeems to be yet a further degree, and in this ſenſe *Manaſſah* and *Jezebel*, 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 6. 2 *Kings* ix. 22. uſed witchcraft and whoredoms, *Nahum.* iii. 4. The Indolatrous city is called, Miſtreſs of Witchcrafts. But to inſtance in one place inſtead of many, 2 *Theſ.* ii. from the 3 to the 12 v. particularly 9, and 10 v. *Even him, whoſe coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs. And for this cauſe God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lie, that they all might be damned, who believed not the truth, &c.* This, that then was ſpoken in the propheſy of that man of ſin, that was to appear, how abundantly does hiſtory teſtify the fulfilment of it? particularly to ſeduce to the worſhip of images: Have not the images been made to move? to ſmile, &c. too tedious were it to mention the hundredth part of what undoubted hiſtory doth abundantly teſtify. And hence do ſet down this ninth concluſion.

9. That the man of ſin, or ſeducer, &c. makes uſe of lying wonders to the end to deceive, and that God in righteous judgment *may ſend ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lie, that they might be damned, who believe not the truth, &c.*

'Tis certain that the devil is a proud being, and would be thought to have a power equal to

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the Almighty ; and it cannot but be very grateful to him to ſee mortals charging one another with doing ſuch works by the devil's power, as in truth is the proper prerogative of the Almighty, Omnipotent Being. The next head ſhould have been about an explicit covenant between the witch and the devil, &c. But in this, the whole of it I cannot perſuade myſelf but you muſt be ſenſible of an apparent leaning to education (or tradition) the ſcriptures being wholly ſilent in it ; and ſuppoſing this to fall in as a dependent on what went before, I ſhall ſay the leſs to it ; for if the devil has no ſuch power to communicate upon ſuch compact, then the whole is a fiction ; tho' I cannot but acknowledge you have ſaid ſo much to uphold that doctrine, that I know not how any could have done more ; however, as I ſaid, I find not myſelf engaged (unleſs ſcripture proof were offered) to meddle with it. For as you have in ſuch caſes your reaſon for your guide, ſo I muſt be allowed to uſe that little that I have, do only ſay, that as God is a ſpirit, ſo he muſt be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth. So alſo that the devil is a ſpirit, and that his rule is in the hearts of the children of diſobedience, and that an explicit covenant of one nature or another can have little force, any further than as the heart is engaged in it. And ſo I paſs to the laſt, viz. whether a witch ought to be put to death. And without accumulation of the offence do judge, that where the law of any country is to puniſh by death ſuch as ſeduce and tempt to the worſhip of ſtrange Gods (or idols, or ſtatues) by as good authority may they

(no doubt) puniſh theſe as capital offenders, who are diſtinguiſhed by that one remove, viz. to their ſeducing is added a ſign, *i. e.* they pretend to a ſign in order to ſeduce. And thus worthy Sir, I have freely given you my thoughts upon yours, which you ſo much obliged we with the ſight of, and upon the whole, though I cannot in the general but commend your caution in not aſſerting many things contended for by others ; yet muſt ſay, that in my eſteem there is retained ſo much as will ſecure all the reſt ; (to inſtance) if a ſpirit has a vehicle, *i. e.* ſome portion of matter which it acts, &c. hence as neceſſarily may be inferred that doctrine of *Incubus* and *Succubus*, and why not that alſo of procreation by ſpirits both good and bad ? Thus was *Alexander* the *Great*, the *Britiſh Merlin*, and *Martin Luther*, and many others ſaid to be begotten. Again if the witch had ſuch a wonder-working power, why not to afflict ? will not the devil thus far gratify her ? And have none this miraculous power, but the covenanting witch ? then the offence lies in the covenant, then it is not only hard, but impoſſible to find a witch by ſuch evidence as the law of God requires ; for it will not be ſuppoſed that they call witneſs to this covenant ; therefore it will here be neceſſary to admit of ſuch as the nature of ſuch covenant will bear (as Mr. *Gaul* hath it in his 5th head, *i. e.)* the teſtimony of the afflicted, with their ſpectral ſight, to tell who afflicts themſelves or others ; the experiment of ſaying the Lord's prayer, falling at the ſight, and riſing at the touch, ſearching for tets *(i. e.* eſcreſcencies of nature)

ſtrange

ſtrange and foreign ſtories of the death of ſome cattle, or over-ſetting ſome cart ; and what can juries have better to guide them to find out this covenant by.

It is matter of lamentation, and let it be for a lamentation, to conſider how theſe things have opened the floodgates of malice, revenge, uncharitableneſs, and bloodſhed, what multitudes have been ſwept away by this torrent.

In *Germany*, countries depopulated : In *Scotland* no leſs than 4000 have ſaid to have ſuffered by fire and halter at one heat.

Thus we may ſay with the prophet, *Iſa.* lix. 10. *We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes : we ſtumble at noon-day as in the night, we are in deſolate places as dead men :* and this by ſeeking to be wiſe above what is written, in framing to ourſelves ſuch crimes and ſuch ordeals (or ways of trial) as are wholly foreign from the direction of our only guide, which ſhould be a light to our feet, and a lanthorn to our paths ; but inſtead of this, if we have not followed the direction we have followed the example of Pagan and Papal Rome, thereby rendering us contemptable, and baſe before all people, according as we have not kept his ways, but have been partial in his law.

And now that we may in all our ſentiments and ways, have regard to his teſtimonies, and give to the Almighty the glory due to his name, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of, ſir,

Yours to command, R. C.

A ſecond

A ſecond letter of a gentleman, endeavouring to prove the received opinions about witchcraft.

SIR,

SINCE your deſign of giving copies of our papers (if not to the public at leaſt) out of your hands, I find myſelf obliged to make a reply to your anſwer, leſt ſilence ſhould be conſtrued an aſſent to the poſitions whereby (I think) truth would be ſcandalized. I remember that ſome have taught that it is not certain there is any ſuch thing really in being as matter; becauſe the ideas which we have of our own, and all other bodies, may be cauſed to ariſe in us by God, without the real exiſtence of the objects they repreſent. But this opinion is not only abſurd and falſe, but likewiſe atheiſtical, deſtroying the veracity of the Almighty, whom it aſſerts to have determined us by a fatal neceſſity to believe things to be, which are not; and I wonder that you ſhould allude unto it, becauſe that angels have appeared in a dream, in a viſion; for we dream alſo of trees, birds, &c. are there therefore no ſuch things in nature, becauſe we ſometimes dream to ſee and hear them, when we are aſleep? St. *Paul* in his viſion was ſo far from believing the objects that were repreſented to him to come by the intermedium of his ſenſes, that he declares, he does not know whether he was in the body, or out of the body; therefore the inſtance is in no wiſe proper. For *Abraham* and the B. Virgin did ſee and hear; and if there were not ſuch things really, as were repreſented to them by their ſenſes, they were deluded,

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by being made to believe they ſaw and heard what was not. There is none who denieth God cauſeth thoughts to ariſe in men's minds: but thence to infer he maketh objects which are not, by forming their ideas in our minds, to appear to us through the miniſtry of our ſenſes as though they were, is a piece not only of vain, but very dangerous philoſophy. It is true, the good angels will not appear without the appointment of God, they will not do any one action, but according to the laws he has preſcribed to them. But you ſay they cannot, (which does not follow from your premiſes) ſuppoſing their not appearing to proceed from the defect of their power, and not the rectitude of their will, which fallacy has deceived you into a third concluſion. For the fallen angels are not ſo held under chains of darkneſs; but that they can, and do go to and fro on the earth ſeeking whom they may devour. Before their fall they could have appeared if ſent, and would not then do any thing without a divine command; but now they have rebelled againſt God, and do all they can to deſpiſe him, therefore their not appearing now (if it were true they never did, they never ſhall appear) muſt proceed from a reſtraint they are under, which is accidental not eſſential to their nature; ſo that the true concluſion is, the fallen angels, while they are under forcible reſtraint from God to the contrary, cannot appear. But what this (being cleared from the ambiguity you expreſs it in) maketh to the purpoſe I know not, unleſs God had promiſed for a determinate time to detain them under this reſtraint. I do not under-

ſtand what you intend by the dead being raiſed by holy men ; the moſt natural inference is, that in imitation of them wicked men by their inchantments calling on a Dæmon to appear in the ſhape of the dead, will pretend that they alſo can raiſe the dead. The Romaniſts are much obliged to you for making tranſubſtantiation (ſo much contended for by them) to be of as old a date as the appearance of devils, and that the one implieth no more contradiction than the other : If ſo, we do well to think ſeriouſly whether we are not guilty of great ſin in ſeparating from them ; for certainly whatever private men's notions in this age may be, yet it is matter of great moment, that all antiquity (the Saducees the elder brethren of our Hobbiſts excepted) hath believed the appearance of evil ſpirits and their alluſions. I ſhould be too officious if I offered to explain, how matter, real matter may fall under the cogniſance of one of our ſenſes, and not the reſt. It is for you to ſhew the impoſſibility thereof, if you will build any thing upon your aſſertion, to prove which your firſt argument is (it ſeems to me) a chimera, which is not enough, when there are many to whom it ſeems to be a truth : Your ſecond is very dangerous, and highly derogatory of the honour of God, between whom and the devil you make compariſon more than once as the power of the Almighty muſt not be confined to be leſs than the devils. And again, to deny theſe three laſt were to make the devil an independent power and conſequently a God. Theſe expreſſions (which cannot but be very pleaſing to the devil,

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who vainly boaſts himſelf to be a being without dependance) are altogether groundleſs, and very unmeet to proceed from a chriſtian: Conſider what you are doing, to eſtabliſh a doctrine (the contrary whereof the greateſt part of mankind does believe) you run upon ſuch precipices, as if you are miſtaken, and that is not impoſſible, muſt totally deſtroy all religion, natural and revealed; for ſuppoſe it were generally believed according to you, that the devil cannot appear, becauſe if he could he muſt be a God, independent, an unconquered enemy, and he doth appear to us as we hear he hath to multitudes, both of the paſt and preſent ages: In ſuch a caſe what remains for us to do; but to fall down and worſhip him. Upon the head of poſſeſſion, you have recourſe to that inſtance of *Samſon*, who was impowered by God, to the doing of things beyond the natural ſtrength of common men, and thence you ſay, we may leaſt learn the nature of poſſeſſion by evil ſpirits, this compariſon is indeed very odious, and I had rather think you have fallen into it unawares; for what greater blaſphemy than that God and the devil do act the bodies, which the one and the other do poſſeſs in the ſame manner; if the hypotheſis I laid down had not pleaſed you, yet you ought not (for fear of being deceived by vain philoſophy, to have run ſo horrible an extreme, as to aſſimulate God's manner of working to the devils, which neceſſarily implies, that either their powers are equal, or at leaſt that they do not differ in kind but in degree only; than which nothing can be more impious or abſurd: for the

moſt

moſt poſſible perfect creature, is infinitely diſtant from the Creator, and there can be no compariſon between them. On the head of witchcraft, you acknowledge the witch has not his wonder-working power from God; but then you ſay, the devil has no ſuch power to give; for if he had, he muſt be—— This way of reaſoning as I noted before, is very dangerous, and I think ought not to be uſed; beſides there is a great fallacy in your dilemma; which becauſe I perceive, you lay the whole weight of the matter upon it, I will evince unto you. The devil though ſuperlatively arrogant and proud, nevertheleſs depends on the firſt cauſe for his being, and all his powers, without whoſe influx he or any other creature cannot ſubſiſt a moment, but muſt either return to their primitive nothing, or be continually preſerved by the ſame power, by the which they were at firſt produced; therefore the beings and powers of all creatures (becauſe they immediately flow from God) are good, and conſequently the ſimple actions, as they proceed from thoſe powers, are in their own nature likewiſe good, the evil proceeding only from the rebellious will of the creature, wherefore it is no paradox, but a certain truth, that the ſame action in reſpect of the firſt cauſe is good, but in reſpect of the ſecond is evil; for inſtance, the act of copulation is in itſelf good, inſtituted by God, and may be explicitly willed and deſired by the ſoul, which ſinneth not for exerting the ſimple act; but for exerting it contrary to the laws preſcribed by God: as in wedlock and adultery there is the ſame ſpecial natural action, which

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conſidered ſimply, as flowing from a power given to man by God is certainly good ; but conſidered with relation to the rebellious will of the adulterer (who lieth with his neighbours' wife, whom he is forbid to touch) is a verv great evil. We may ſay the ſame of all human actions, the executioner and the murtherer do the ſame natural act of ſtriking and killing : The difference conſiſts in the rectitude of the ones and depravation of the others will. Theſe things premiſed, what more reaſon have we to conclude that the devil (becauſe he ſhews ſigns and wonders to gain belief to lies, which is very contrary to the will of God) muſt be therefore an independent power ; than that the adulterer, the murtherer, or any other ſinner (becauſe their actions being evil, of which God cannot be the cauſe) muſt be independent beings : The deceit of the laſt is very palpable, and I doubt not but you will readily acknowledge it, for it is obvious from what has been ſaid to the meaneſt capacity, to diſtinguiſh between the action itſelf, which is good, and flows from God, and the circumſtances of the action, the choice whereof proceeds from the iniquity of the will, wherein doth ſolely conſiſt the ſin ; the parallel is ſo exact, that I cannot ſee the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, why we ought not in like manner to diſtinguiſh whatever effect is produced by the devil ; to whom (as to man) God having given powers, and a will to rule them powers, is truly and properly the cauſe of all the actions (in a natural, but not moral ſenſe) that flow from the powers he has given. Therefore the wonder-working power of

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the devil, and the effects thereof, conſidered as acts of one of God's creatures, are not evil but good; the uſing that power (which proceeds from the rebellion of Satan) to bear teſtimony to a lie, is that one, which conſtitutes the evil thereof.

And now I have with your argument, wherein you have indeed ſhewn great ſkill and dexterity in turning to your advantage, what being fairly ſtated makes againſt you, as the appearance of angels, &c. obſerving nicely the rules of art, and particularly that grand one of concealing, nay diſſembling the ſame art, as when you quote that ſcripture concerning vain philoſophy (of which though altogether foreign from the matter in hand yet) you intend to ſerve yourſelf with the unthinking, who meaſure the ſenſe of words by their jingle, not knowing how to weigh the things they ſignify, and truly herein your end is very artificial; for you intend both to throw dirt at them that differ from you, and at the ſame time to cover yourſelf with ſuch a ſubtle web, through which you may ſee, and not be ſeen. What follows, is rather a rhetorical lecture, ſuch as the patriots of ſects (who commonly explain the holy ſcriptures according to their own dogma's, and ſo obtrude human invention for the pure word of God) uſe with their auditors, to recommend any principle they have a mind to eſtabliſh, than an impartial and thorough diſquiſition of a controverted point; wherefore I do not think myſelf obliged to take any further notice of it: eſpecially ſeeing truth, which for the moſt part is little regarded in ſuch florid diſcourſes, and not any

prejudice

prejudice of education, intereſt, or party, did ſet me about this ſubject. I have never been uſed to complement in points of controverſy, therefore I hope you will not be angry, becauſe I have given you my thoughts naked and plain. I have not the leaſt motion in my mind of accuſing you of any formal deſign to injure religion ; I only obſerve unto you, that your over eager contention to maintain your principle, has hurried you to aſſert many things of much greater danger, both in themſelves and their conſequences, than thoſe you would ſeem to avoid ; which do amount to no more than that, men being (in the ordinary courſe of providence) the depoſitories of both divine and human laws, may (inſtead of uſing them to preſerve) pervert them to deſtroy ; which indeed is very lamentable.

But it is the inevitable conſequent of our depraved nature, and cannot be wholly remedied, till ſin, and the grand author of ſin, the Devil, be entirely conquered, and God be all in all ; to whom, with the Son, and Holy Ghoſt, be glory for ever, Amen.

Sir, your affectionate friend to ſerve you,
Boſton, July 25, 1694.

BOSTON, *Auguſt* 17, 1694.

Worthy Sir,

YOURS of July 25, being in ſome ſort ſurpriſing to me, I could do no leſs than ſay ſomewhat, as well to vindicate myſelf from thoſe many reflections, miſtakes and hard cenſures therein ; as alſo to vindicate what I conceive to be im-

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portant truth, and to that end find it needful to repeat ſome part of mine, viz. concluſion.

1. That the glorious angels have their miſſion and commiſſion from the moſt high.

2. That without this they cannot appear to mankind.

3. That if the glorious angels have not that power to go till commiſſioned, or to appear to mortals, then not the fallen angels, who are held in chains of darkneſs to the judgment of the great day.

4. That when the Almighty free agent has a work to bring about for his own glory, or man's good, he can employ not only the bleſſed angels, but evil ones in it.

5. That when the divine being will employ the agency of evil ſpirits for any ſervice, it is with him the manner how they ſhall exhibit themſelves, whether to the bodily eye, or intellect only, or whether it ſhall be more or leſs formidable.

To deny theſe three laſt, were to make the devil an independent power, and conſequently a God.

The bare recital of theſe is ſufficient to vindicate me from that reiterated charge, of denying all appearances of angels or devils.

That the good angels cannot appear without miſſion and commiſſion from the moſt high, i you ſay more than follows from the premiſes but if you like not ſuch negative deduction, tho ſo natural, it concerns you (if you will aſſert thi power to be in their natures, and their non ap pearance only to proceed from the rectitude o

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their wills, and that without ſuch commiſſion they have a power to appear to mortals, and upon this to build ſo prodigious a ſtructure, &c.) very clearly to prove it by ſcripture, for chriſtians have good reaſon to take the apoſtle's warning (if ſome philoſophers have taught that man is nothing but matter. And others that 'tis not certain there is any matter at all) *to take heed leaſt they ſhould be ſpoiled through vain phyloſophy, &c.* but that this ſhould be alluded to ſuch as never heard of either notion, or that it was aſſerted that thoſe real appearances to *Joſeph*, and to the apoſtle, was through the miniſtry of the ſenſes, is as vain as ſuch philoſophy. As to the dead being raiſed, had I uſed art or rhetorick enough to explain my meaning to you, I needed not now to rejoin. That 'tis as good an argument to ſay, that becauſe holy prophets have raiſed the dead, therefore wicked men have a power to raiſe the dead: As 'tis to ſay, becauſe good angels have appeared, therefore the evil have a power to appear; for who can doubt, but if the Almighty ſhall commiſſion a wicked man to it, he alſo ſhall raiſe the dead, as is intimated, *Mat.* vii. 22. *And in thy name done many wonderful works.* As to compariſons being odious, particularly that concerning *Samſon*, I think it needful here to add theſe ſcriptures further to confirm the fourth concluſion. 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1. compared with 1 *Chron.* xxi. 1. *In one 'tis God moved, &c. and in the other Satan provoked* David *to number the people.* 2 Chron. xviii. 21. *And the Lord ſaid, thou ſhalt entice him, and thou ſhalt alſo prevail, go out and do even ſo*; all which,

with many more that might be produced, as they will ſhew the truth with the concluſion; ſo that 'tis no odious compariſon to ſay, that as the Almighty can make uſe of good, ſo alſo of evil ſpirits, for the accompliſhing of his own wiſe ends, and can impower either without the help of a vehicle. For poſſeſſions muſt be numbered among God's afflictive diſpenſations, who alſo orders all the circumſtances thereof. But if any object God is not the author of evil, &c. you have furniſhed me with a very learned anſwer, by diſtinguiſhing between the act, and the evil of the act, and to which 'tis adapt, but will no wiſe ſuit where it is placed, till it be firſt proved that the devil hath of himſelf ſuch power not only of appearing at pleaſure, but of working miracles, and to the Almighty reſerved only the power of reſtraining; for till this be proved the dilemma muſt remain ſtable. He that aſſerts that—Becauſe good angels have appeared, that therefore the fallen angels have a power of themſelves to appear to mortals; And that they cannot be employed by the Almighty; nor that he does not order the manner and circumſtances of ſuch appearance, what doth he leſs than make the devil an independent power, and conſequently a God! So he that aſſerts that the devil hath a power of himſelf, and independent to work wonders, and miracles, and to impower witches to do like in order to deceive, &c. What doth he leſs than own him to be an unconquered enemy, and conſequently a ſovereign deity! and who is he that is culpable? he that aſcribes ſuch attributes to

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the evil one, or he that aſſerts that the ſo doing gives him (or aſcribes to him) ſuch power as is the prerogative of him only who is Almighty? and here ſir, it highly concerns you to conſider your foundations, what proof from ſcripture is to be found for your aſſertions, and who it is you are contending for. For hitherto nothing like a proof hath been offered from ſcripture, which abounds ſo with the contrary, that he that runs may read, *As ſhall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it? who is he that ſaith, and it cameth to paſs when the Lord commandeth it not.* Who among the Gods of the Heathen (of which the devil is one) can give rain, &c.

But I ſhall not be tedious in multiplying proofs, to that which all ſeem to own. For as to that ſtale plea of univerſality, do ſay that I have read of one, if not ſeveral, general counſels, that have not only diſapproved, but anathematiz'd them that have aſcribed ſuch power to the devils. And ſeveral national proteſtant churches at this day in their exhortation before the ſacrament (among other enormous crimes) admoniſh all that believe any ſuch power in the witch, &c. to withdraw as unmeet to partake at the Lord's table.

And I believe chriſtians in general, if they were aſked, would own that what powers the devil may at any time have to appear, to afflict, deſtroy, or cauſe tempeſts, &c. muſt be by power or commiſſion from the Sovereign Being. And that having ſuch a commiſſion, not only hail, but frogs, lice, or fleas ſhall be impowered to plague a great king and kingdom. And if ſo,

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this ſandy ſtructure of the devil's appearance, and working wonders at pleaſure, and of impowering witches to afflict, &c. (for to this narrow criſis is that whole doctrine reduced) the whole diſappears at the firſt ſhaking.

Thus worthy ſir, I have given you my ſentiments, and the grounds thereof, as plainly and as conciſe as I was able, though 'tis indeed a ſubject that calls for the ableſt pens to diſcuſs, acknowledging myſelf to be inſufficient for theſe things; however I think I have done but my duty for the glory of God, the Sovereign being; and have purpoſely avoided ſuch a reply as ſome parts of yours required.

And pray that not only you and I, but all mankind may give to the Almighty the glory due unto his name. From, Sir, Yours to command,

R. C.

Witchcraft is manifeſtly a Work of the Fleſh.

PART V.

An impartial account of the moſt memorable matters of fact, touching the ſuppoſed witchcraft in New-England.

MR. PARRIS had been ſome years a miniſter in *Salem-Village*, when this ſad calamity

mity (as a deluge) overflowed them, ſpreading itſelf far and near : He was a gentleman of liberal education, and not meeting with any great encouragement, or advantage in merchandizing, to which for ſome time he applied himſelf, betook himſelf to the work of the miniſtry ; this village being then vacant, he met with ſo much encouragement, as to ſettle in that capacity among them.

After he had been there about two years, he obtained a grant from a part of the town, that the houſe and land he occupied, and which had been allotted by the whole people to the miniſtry, ſhould be and remain to him, &c. as his own eſtate in fee ſimple. This occaſioned great *diviſions* both between the inhabitants themſelves, and between a conſiderable part of them and their ſaid miniſter, which diviſions were but as a beginning or *prelude* to what immediately followed.

It was the latter end of *February* 1691, when divers young perſons belonging to Mr. *Parris's* family, and one or more of the neighbourhood, began to act, after a ſtrange and unuſual manner, *viz.* as by getting into holes, and creeping under chairs and ſtools, and to uſe ſundry odd poſtures and antick geſtures, uttering fooliſh, ridiculous ſpeeches, which neither they themſelves nor any others could make ſenſe of ; the phyſicians that were called could aſſign no reaſon for this ; but it ſeems one of them, having recourſe to the old ſhift, told them, he was afraid they were bewitched ; upon ſuch ſuggeſtions, they that were con-

cerned, applied themſelves to faſting and prayer, which was attended not only in their own private families, but with calling in the help of others.

March the 11th. Mr. *Parris* invited ſeveral neighbouring miniſters to join with him in keeping a ſolemn day of prayer at his own houſe; the time of the exerciſe thoſe perſons were for the moſt part ſilent, but after any one prayer was ended, they would act and ſpeak ſtrangely and ridiculouſly, yet were ſuch as had been well educated and of good behaviour, the one a girl of 11 or 12 years old, would ſometimes ſeem to be in a *convulſion* fit, her limbs being twiſted ſeveral ways, and very ſtiff, but preſently her fit would be over.

A few days before this ſolemn day of prayer, Mr. *Parris's Indian* man and woman made a cake of rye meal, with the children's water, and baked it in the aſhes, and as is ſaid, gave it to the dog; this was done as a means to diſcover witchcraft; ſoon after which thoſe ill affected or afflicted perſons named ſeveral that they ſaid they ſaw, when in their fits, afflicting them.

The firſt complained of, was the ſaid *Indian* woman, named *Tituba*, ſhe confeſſed that the devil urged her to ſign a book, which he preſented to her, and alſo to work miſchief to the children, &c. She was afterwards committed to priſon, and lay there till ſold for her fees. The account ſhe ſince gives of it is, that her maſter did beat her and otherways abuſe her, to make her confeſs and accuſe (ſuch as he called) her ſiſter-witches, and that whatſoever ſhe ſaid by way of confeſſing or accuſing others, was the effect of ſuch uſage;

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her maſter refuſed to pay her fees, unleſs ſhe would ſtand to what ſhe had ſaid.

The children complained likewiſe of two other women, to be the authors of their hurt, *viz.* *Sarah Good*, who had long been counted a *melancholy* or *diſtracted* woman, and one *Oſburn*, an old *bed-rid* women, which two were perſons ſo ill thought of, that the accuſation was the more readily believed; and after examination before two *Salem* magiſtrates were committed: *March* the 9th, Mr. *Lowſon* (who had been formerly a preacher at the ſaid village) came thither, and hath ſince ſet forth, in print, an account of what then paſſed, about which time, as he ſaith, they complained of goodwife *Cory*, and goodwife *Nurſe*, members of churches at the village, and at Salem, many others being by that time accuſed.

March the 21ſt, goodwife *Cory* was examined before the magiſtrates of *Salem*, at the meeting houſe in the Village, a throng of ſpectators being preſent to ſee the novelty. Mr. *Noyes*, one of the miniſters of Salem began with prayer, after which the priſoner being called, in order to anſwer to what ſhould be alledged againſt her, ſhe deſired that ſhe might go to prayer, and was anſwered by the magiſtrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.

The number of the afflicted were at that time about ten, *viz.* Mrs. *Pope*, Mrs. *Putman*, goodwife *Bibber*, and goodwife *Goodall*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewes* (at *Thomas Putman's*) and Dr. *Grigg's* maid, and three girls, *viz.* *Elizabeth Parris*, daughter to the miniſter, *Abigail Williams*, his neice, and *Ann Putman*, which laſt three were not

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only the beginners, but were alſo the chief in theſe accuſations. Theſe ten were moſt of them preſent at the examination, and did vehemently accuſe her of afflicting them, by biting, pinching, ſtrangling, &c. and they ſaid they did in their fits ſee her likeneſs coming to them, and bringing a book for them to ſign ; Mr. *Hathorn*, a magiſtrate of *Salem*, aſked her why ſhe afflicted thoſe children ? ſhe ſaid, ſhe did not afflict them, he aſked her who did then ; ſhe ſaid, I do not know, how ſhould I know ? ſhe ſaid, they were poor diſtracted creatures, and no heed to be given to what they ſaid ; Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Noyes* replied that it was the judgment of all that were there preſent, that they were bewitched, and only ſhe (the accuſed) ſaid they were diſtracted : She was accuſed by them, that the *black man* whiſpered to her in her ear now (while ſhe was upon examination) and that ſhe had a yellow bird, that did uſe to ſuck between her fingers, and that the ſaid bird did ſuck now in the aſſembly ; order being given to look in that place to ſee if there were any ſign, the girl that pretended to ſee it ſaid, that it was too late now, for ſhe had removed a pin, and put it on her head, it was upon ſearch found, that a pin was there ſticking upright. When the accuſed had any motion of their body, hands or mouth, the accuſers would cry out, as when ſhe bit a lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if ſhe graſped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being pinched by her, and would produce marks, ſo of the other motions of her body, as complaining of being preſt, when ſhe leaned to the ſeat next her, if ſhe

ſtirred

ſtirred her feet, they would ſtamp and cry out of pain there. After the hearing, the ſaid *Cory* was committed to *Salem* priſon, and then their crying out of her abated.

March the 24th, Goodwife *Nurſe* was brought before Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Curwin* (magiſtrates) in the meeting houſe, Mr. *Hale*, miniſter of *Beverly*, began with prayer, after which ſhe being accuſed of much the ſame crimes made the like anſwers, aſſerting her own innocence with earneſtneſs. The accuſers were moſtly the ſame, *Thomas Putman's* wife, &c. complaining much. The dreadful ſhrieking from her and others, was very amazing, which was heard at a great diſtance; ſhe was alſo committed to priſon.

A child of *Sarah Goods*, was likewiſe apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years old, the accuſers ſaid this child bit them, and would ſhew ſuch like marks, as thoſe of a ſmall ſett of teeth upon their arms, as many of the afflicted as the child caſt its eye upon, would complain they were in torment: which child they alſo committed.

Concerning theſe that had been hitherto examined and committed, it is among other things obſerved, by Mr. *Lawſon* (in print) that they were by the accuſers charged, to belong to a company that did muſter in arms, and were reported by them to keep days of faſt, thankſgiving and ſacraments; and that thoſe afflicted (or accuſers) did in the aſſembly, cure each other, even with a touch of their hand, when ſtrangled and otherways tortured, and would endeavour to

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get to the afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not uſed the experiment of bringing the accuſed to touch the afflicted, in order to their cure) and could foretel one another's fit to be coming, and would ſay, look to ſuch a one, ſhe will have a fit preſently, and ſo it happened, and that at the ſame time when the accuſed perſon was preſent, the afflicted ſaid they ſaw her ſpectre or likeneſs in other places of the meeting houſe ſucking their familiars.

The ſaid Mr. *Lawſon* being to preach at the village, after the pſalm was ſung, *Abigail Williams* ſaid, *Now ſtand up and name your text*; after it was read, ſhe ſaid, *it was a long text.* Mrs. *Pope* in the beginning of ſermon ſaid to him, *now there is enough of that.* In ſermon, he referring, to his doctrine, *Abigail Williams* ſaid to him, *I know no doctrine you had, if you did name one I have forgot it.* *Ann Putman* an afflicted girl, ſaid, *there was a yellow bird, ſat on his hat as it hung on the pin in the pulpit.*

March 31, 1692. Was ſet apart as a day of ſolemn humiliation at *Salem*, upon the account of this buſineſs, on which day *Abigail Williams* ſaid, *that ſhe ſaw a great number of perſons in the village at the adminiſtration of a mock ſacrament, where they had bread as read as raw fleſh, and read drink.*

April 1. *Mercy Lewis*, affirmed, *that ſhe ſaw a man in white, with whom ſhe went into a glorious place*, viz. in her fits, *where was no light of the ſun, much leſs of candles, yet was full of light and brightneſs, with a great multitude in white glittering robes, who ſang the ſong in* Rev. v. 9. *and the* cx.

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and cxlix. Pſalms ; *and was given that ſhe might tarry no longer in this place.* This white man is ſaid to have appeared ſeveral times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it ſhould be before they ſhould have another fit.

April the 3d. Being ſacrament day at the village, *Sarah Cloys*, ſiſter to goodwife *Nurſe*, a member of one of the churches, was (though it ſeems with difficulty prevailed with to be) preſent ; but being entered the place, and Mr. *Parris* naming his text, *John* vi. 70. *Have not I choſen you twelve, and one of you is a devil* (for what cauſe may reſt as a doubt whether upon the account of her ſiſter's being committed, or becauſe of the choice of that text) ſhe roſe up and went out, the wind ſhutting the door forcibly, gave occaſion to ſome to ſuppoſe ſhe went out in anger, and might occaſion a ſuſpicion of her ; however ſhe was ſoon after complained of, examined and committed.

April the 11th. By this time the number of the accuſed and accuſers being much increaſed, was a public examination at *Salem*, ſix of the magiſtrates with ſeveral miniſters being preſent, there appeared ſeveral who complained againſt others with hidious clamours and ſcreechings. Goodwife *Proctor* was brought thither, being accuſed or cried out againſt ; her huſband coming to attend and aſſiſt her, as there might be need, the accuſers cried out of him alſo, and that with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he was commited with his wife. About this time beſides the experiment of the afflicted falling at the ſight, &c. they put the

accuſed

acculed upon ſaying the Lord's prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition [*Deliver us from evil*] ſhe expreſt it thus *(Deliver us from all evil)* this was looked upon as if ſhe prayed againſt what ſhe was now juſtly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating thoſe words *hallowed be thy name*, ſhe expreſt it, *hollowed be thy name*, this was counted a depraving the words, as ſignifying to make void, and ſo a curſe rather than a prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that ſhe alſo could not ſay it, &c. Proceeding in this work of examination and commitment, many were ſent to priſon. As an inſtance, ſee the following mittimus.

To their Majeſties Goal-keeper in *Salem*.

YOU *are in their majeſties' names hereby required to take into your care, and ſafe cuſtody, the bodies of* William Hobs, *and* Deborah *his wife*, Mary Eaſty, *the wife of* Iſaac Eaſty, *and* Sarah Wild, *the wife of* John Wild, *all of* Topſfield; *and* Edward Biſhop, *of* Salem-Village; *huſbandman, and* Sarah, *his wife, and* Mary Black, *a* negro *of Lieutenant* Nathaniel Putman, *of* Salem-Village; *alſo* Mary Engliſh, *the wife of* Philip Engliſh, *merchant in* Salem; *who ſtand charged with high ſuſpicion of ſundry acts of witchcraft, done or committed by them lately upon the bodies of* Ann Putman, Mary Lewis *and* Abigail Williams, *of* Salem-Village; *whereby great hurt and damage hath been done to the bodies of the ſaid perſons,*

ſons, according to the complaint of Thomas Putnam *and* John Buxton *of* Salem-Village, *exhibited.* Salem, April 21, 1692, *appears, whom you are to ſecure in order to their further examination. Fail not.*

John Hathorn, } *Aſſiſtants.*
Jona. Curwin, }

Dated Salem, April 22, 1692.

To Marſhall George Herrick, *of Salem, Eſſex.*

YOU are in their Majeſties names hereby required to convey the above-named to the goal at Salem. *Fail not.*

John Hathorn, } *Aſſiſtants.*
Jona. Curwin, }

Dated Salem, April 22, 1692.

The occaſion of Biſhop's being cried out of, was he being at an examination in Salem, when at the inn an afflicted Indian was very unruly, whom he undertook, and ſo managed him, that he was very orderly, after which in riding home, in company of him and other accuſers, the Indian fell into a fit, and clapping hold with his teeth on the back of the man that rode before him, thereby held himſelf upon the horſe, but ſaid, Biſhop ſtriking him with his ſtick, the Indian ſoon recovered, and promiſed he would do ſo no more; to which Biſhop replied, that he doubted not, but he could cure them all, with more to the ſame effect; immediately after he was parted from them, he was cried out of, &c.

May 14, 1692. Sir *William Phips*, arrived with commiſſion from their Majeſties to be Governor, purſuant to the new-charter; which he now brought with him; the ancient charter having been vacated by King *Charles*, and King *James* (by which they had a power not only to make their own laws; but alſo to chuſe their own Governor and Officers; and the country for ſome years was put under an abſolute commiſſion-government, till the Revolution, at which time, tho' more than two thirds of the people were for reaſſuming their ancient government, (to which they had encouragement by his then Royal Highneſs's Proclamation) yet ſome that might have been better imployed (in another ſtation) made it their buſineſs (by printing, as well as ſpeaking) to their utmoſt to divert them from ſuch a ſettlement; and ſo far prevailed, that for about ſeven weeks after the Revolution, here was not ſo much as a face of any government; but ſome few men upon their own nomination would be called a committee of ſafety; but at length the aſſembly prevailed with thoſe that had been of the government, to promiſe that they would reaſſume; and accordingly a Proclamation was drawn, but before publiſhing it, it was underwritten, that they would not have it underſtood that they did reaſſume charter-government; ſo that between government and no government, this country remained till Sir *William* arrived: Agents being in this time impowered in *England*, which no doubt did not all of them act according to the minds or intereſts of thoſe that impowered them, which is manifeſt

by

by their not acting jointly in what was done; ſo that this place is perhaps a ſingle inſtance (even in the beſt of reigns) of a charter not reſtored after ſo happy a revolution.

This ſettlement by Sir *William Phips*'s having come Governor, put an end to all diſputes of theſe things, and being arrived, and having read his commiſſion, the firſt thing he exerted his power in, was ſaid to be his giving orders that irons ſhould be put upon thoſe in priſon; for though for ſometime after theſe were committed, the accuſers ceaſed to cry out of them; yet now the cry againſt them was renewed, which occaſioned ſuch order; and though there was partiality in the executing it (ſome having taken them off almoſt as ſoon as put on) yet the cry of theſe accuſers againſt ſuch, ceaſed after this order.

May 24. Mrs. *Cary* of *Charleſtown*, was examined and committed. Her huſband Mr. *Nathaniel Cary* has given account thereof, as alſo of her eſcape, to this effect.

I having heard ſome days, that my wife was accuſed of witchcraft, being much diſturbed at it, by advice, we went to Salem-Village, to ſee if the afflicted knew her; we arrived there, 24th *May*, it happened to be a day appointed for examination; accordingly ſoon after our arrival, Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Curwin*, &c. went to the meeting-houſe, which was the place appointed for that work, the miniſter began with prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I obſerved, that the afflicted were two girls of about ten years old, and about two or three others, of about eighteen,

teen, one of the girls talked moſt, and could diſcern more than the reſt. The priſoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out of, &c. The priſoners were placed about 7 or 8 feet from the juſtices, and the accuſers between the juſtices and them ; the priſoner was ordered to ſtand right before the juſtices, with an officer appointed to hold each hand, leaſt they ſhould therewith afflict them, and the priſoner's eyes muſt be conſtantly on the juſtices ; for if they looked on the afflicted, they would either fall into their fits, or cry out of being hurt by them ; after examination of the priſoners, who it was afflicted theſe girls, &c. they were put upon ſaying the Lord's prayer, as a trial of their guilt ; after the afflicted ſeemed to be out of their fits, they would look ſteadfaſtly on ſome one perſon, and frequently not ſpeak ; and then the juſtices ſaid they were ſtruck dumb, and after a little time would ſpeak again ; then the juſtices ſaid to the accuſers, which of you will go and touch the priſoner at the bar ? then the moſt courageous would adventure, but before they had made three ſteps would ordinarily fall down as in a fit ; the juſtices ordered that they ſhould be taken up and carried to the priſoner, that ſhe might touch them ; and as ſoon as they were touched by the accuſed, the juſtices would ſay, they are well, before I could diſcern any alteration ; by which I obſerved that the juſtices underſtood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a ſpectator, my wife alſo was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and aſked her name.

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But I having an opportunity to diſcourſe Mr. *Hale* (with whom I had formerly acquaintance) I took his advice, what I had beſt to do, and deſired of him that I might have an opportunity to ſpeak with her that accuſed my wife; which he promiſed ſhould be, I acquainting him that I repoſed my truſt in him.

Accordingly he came to me after the examination was over, and told me I had now an apportunity to ſpeak with the ſaid accuſer, viz. *Abigail Williams*, a girl of 11 or 12 years old; but that we could not be in private at Mr. *Parris*'s houſe, as he had promiſed me; we went therefore into the alehouſe, where an Indian man attended us, who it ſeems was one of the afflicted: to him we gave ſome cyder, he ſhewed ſeveral ſcars, that ſeemed as if they had been long there, and ſhewed them as done by witchcraft, and acquainted us that his wife, who alſo was a ſlave, was impriſoned for witchcraft. And now inſtead of one accuſer, they all came in, who began to tumble down like ſwine; and then three women were called in to attend them. We in the room were all at a ſtand, to ſee who they would cry out of; but in a ſhort time they cried out, *Cary*: and immediately after a warrant was ſent from the juſtices to bring my wife before them, who were ſitting in a chamber near by, waiting for this.

Being brought before the juſtices, her chief accuſers were two girls: my wife declared to the juſtices, that ſhe never had any knowledge of them before that day; ſhe was forced to ſtand with her arms ſtretched out. I requeſted that I might

hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then ſhe deſired me to wipe the tears from her eyes, and the ſweat from her face, which I did; then ſhe deſired ſhe might lean herſelf on me, ſaying, ſhe ſhould faint.

Juſtice *Hathorn* replied, ſhe had ſtrength enough to torment thoſe perſons, and ſhe ſhould have ſtrength enough to ſtand. I ſpeaking ſomething againſt their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be ſilent, or elſe I ſhould be turned out of the room. The Indian before mentioned, was alſo brought in, to be one of her accuſers: being come in, he now (when before the juſtices) fell down and tumbled about like a hog, but ſaid nothing. The juſtices aſked the girls, who afflicted the Indian? they anſwered ſhe (meaning my wife) and now lay upon him; the juſtices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head muſt be turned another way, leaſt inſtead of curing, ſhe ſhould make him worſe, by her looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold of her hand, and pulled her down on the floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extremely troubled at their inhuman dealings, uttered a haſty ſpeech [*That God would take vengeance on them, and deſired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.*] Then her mittimus was writ; I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a room, but no beds in it; if there had been, could have taken but little reſt that night, ſhe was committed to Boſton priſon;

priſon ; but I obtained a Habeas Corpus to remove her to Cambridge priſon, which is in our County of Middleſex. Having been there one night, next morning the Jaylor put irons on her legs (having received ſuch a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds ; theſe irons and her other afflictions, ſoon brought her into convulſion fits, ſo that I thought ſhe would have died that night. I ſent to intreat that the irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have ſaved her life, ſo that in this condition ſhe muſt continue. The trials at Salem coming on, I went thither, to ſee how things were managed ; and finding that the ſpectre evidence was there received, together with idle, if not malicious ſtories, againſt people's lives, I did eaſily perceive which way the reſt would go ; for the ſame evidence that ſerved for one, would ſerve for all the reſt ; I acquainted her with her danger ; and that if ſhe were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared ſhe would never return. I did my utmoſt that ſhe might have her trial in our own County, I with ſeveral others petitioning the judge for it, and were put in hopes of it ; but I ſoon ſaw ſo much, that I underſtood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon conſulting the means of her eſcape ; which through the goodneſs of God was effected, and ſhe got to Rhode-Iſland, but ſoon found herſelf not ſafe when there, by reaſon of the purſuit after her ; from thence ſhe went to New-York, along with ſome others that had eſcaped their cruel hands ; where we found his Excellency *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſq. Governor,

who

who was very courteous to us. After this, ſome of my goods were ſeized in a friend's hands, with whom I had left them, and myſelf impriſoned by the ſheriff, and kept in cuſtody half a day, and then diſmiſſed; but to ſpeak of their uſage of the priſoners, and the inhumanity ſhewn to them, at the time of their execution, no ſober chriſtian could bear; they had alſo trials of cruel mockings; which is the more, conſidering what a people for religion, I mean the profeſſion of it, we have been; thoſe that ſuffered being many of them church-members, and moſt of them unſpotted in their converſation, till their adverſary the devil took up this method for accuſing them.

Per JONATHAN CARY.

May 31. Captain *John Aldin* was examined in Salem, and committed to Boſton priſon, the priſon-keeper ſeeing ſuch a man committed, of whom he had a good eſteem, was after this the more compaſſionate to thoſe that were in priſon on the like account; and refrained from ſuch hard things to the priſoners, as before he had uſed. Mr. *Aldin* himſelf has given an account of his examination, in theſe words.

An account how John Aldin, *Senior, was dealt with at Salem-Village.*

JOHN ALDIN, Senior, of Boſton, in the County of Suffolk, Mariner, on the 28th day of May, 1692, was ſent for by the magiſtrates of Salem in the County of Eſſex, upon the accuſation of a company of poor diſtracted, or poſſeſſed creatures

tures or witches ; and being ſent by Mr. *Stoughton*, arrived there the 31ſt of May, and appeared at Salem-Village, before Mr. *Gidney*, Mr. *Hathorn*, and Mr. *Curwin*.

Thoſe wenches being preſent, who played their jugling tricks, falling down, crying out, and ſtaring in people's faces ; the magiſtrates demanded of them ſeveral times, who it was of all the people in the room that hurt them ? one of theſe accuſers pointed ſeveral times at one Captain *Hill*, there preſent, but ſpake nothing ; the ſame accuſer, had a man ſtanding at her back to hold her up ; he ſtooped down to her ear, then ſhe cried out, *Aldin*, *Aldin* afflicted her ; one of the magiſtrates aſked her if ſhe had ever ſeen *Aldin*, ſhe anſwered no ; he aſked how ſhe knew it was *Aldin ?* She ſaid, the man told her ſo.

Then all were ordered to go down into the ſtreet, where a ring was made ; and the ſame accuſer cried out, there ſtands *Aldin*, a bold fellow with his hat on before the Judges, he ſells powder and ſhot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian ſquaes, and has Indian papooſes. Then was *Aldin* committed to the Marſhal's cuſtody, and his ſword taken from him ; for they ſaid he afflicted them with his ſword. After ſome hours *Aldin* was ſent for to the meeting-houſe in the Village before the magiſtrates ; who required *Aldin* to ſtand upon a chair, to the open view of all the people.

The accuſers cried out that *Aldin* pinched them, then, when he ſtood upon the chair, in the ſight of all the people, a good way diſtant from them,

one

one of the magiſtrates bid the marſhal to hold open *Aldin*'s hands, that he might not pinch thoſe creatures. *Aldin* aſked them why they ſhould think, that he ſhould come to that Village to afflict thoſe perſons that he never knew or ſaw before? Mr. *Gidney* bid *Aldin* confeſs, and give glory to God: *Aldin* ſaid he hoped he ſhould give glory to God, and hoped he ſhould never gratify the devil; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever ſuſpected him to be ſuch a perſon, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their own knowledge, that might give ſuſpicion of his being ſuch an one. Mr. *Gidney* ſaid he had known *Aldin* many years, and had been at ſea with him, and always looked upon him to be an honeſt man, but now he ſaw cauſe to alter his judgment: *Aldin* anſwered, he was ſorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his innocency, that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he ſhould with *Job* maintain his integrity till he died. They bid *Aldin* look upon the accuſers, which he did, and then they fell down. *Aldin* aſked Mr. *Gidney*, what reaſon there could be given, why *Aldin*'s looking upon *him* did not ſtrike *him* down as well? but no reaſon was given that I heard. But the accuſers were brought to *Aldin* to touch them, and this touch they ſaid made them well. *Aldin* began to ſpeak of the providence of God, in ſuffering theſe creatures to accuſe innocent perſons; Mr. *Noyes* aſked *Aldin* why he would offer to ſpeak of the providence of God: God by his providence (ſaid Mr. *Noyes*) governs the world, and

keeps

keeps it in peace; and ſo went on with diſcourſe, and ſtopt *Aldin*'s mouth, as to that. *Aldin* told Mr. *Gidney*, that he could aſſure him that there was a lying ſpirit in them, for I can aſſure you that there is not a word of truth in all theſe ſay of me. But *Aldin* was again committed to the marſhal, and his mittimus written, which was as follows.

To Mr. John Arnold, *keeper of the priſon in Boſton, in the County of Suffolk.*

WHEREAS Captain *John Aldin* of Boſton, Mariner, and *Sarah Rice*, wife of *Nicholas Rice* of Reading, Huſbandman, have been this day brought before us, *John Hathorn* and *Jonathan Curwin*, Eſquires; being accuſed and ſuſpected of perpetrating divers acts of witchcraft, contrary to the form of the ſtatute, in that caſe made and provided: Theſe are therefore in their Majeſties, King *William* and Queen *Mary*'s names, to will and require you, to take into your cuſtody, the bodies of the ſaid *John Aldin*, and *Sarah Rice*, and them ſafely keep, until they ſhall be delivered by due courſe of law; as you will anſwer the contrary at your peril; and this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant. Given under our hands at Salem-Village, the 31ſt of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady, *William* and *Mary*, now King and Queen over England, &c. Anno Dom. 1692.

JOHN HATHORN,
JONATHAN CURWIN, } *Aſſiſtants.*

To

To Boſton *Aldin* was carried by a Conſtable, no bail would be taken for him ; but was delivered to the priſon-keeper, where he remained fifteen weeks ; and then obſerving the manner of trials, and evidence then taken, was at length prevailed with to make his eſcape, and being returned, was bound over to anſwer at the ſuperior court at Boſton, the laſt Tueſday in April, Anno, 1693. And was there cleared by proclamation, none appearing againſt him.

Per. JOHN ALDIN.

At the examination, and at other times, it was uſual for the accuſers to tell of the black man, or of a ſpectre, as being then on the table, &c. The people about would ſtrike with ſwords, or ſticks at thoſe places. One Juſtice broke his cain at this exerciſe, and ſometimes the accuſers would ſay, they ſtruck the ſpectre, and it is reported ſeveral of the accuſed were hurt and wounded thereby, though at home at the ſame time.

The juſtices proceeding in theſe works of examination, and commitment, to the end of May, there was by that time about a hundred perſons impriſoned upon that account.

June 2. A ſpecial commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, having been iſſued out, to Mr. *Stoughton*, the new Lieutenant Governor, Major *Saltonſtall*, Major *Richards*, Major *Gidny*, Mr. *Wait Winthrop*, Captain *Sewall*, and Mr. *Sergeant*; a *Quorum* of whom ſat at Salem this day; where the moſt that was done this week, was the tryal of one *Biſhop* alias *Oliver*, of *Salem* ; who having long undergone

the

the repute of a Witch, occaſioned by the accuſations of one *Samuel Gray:* he about 20 years ſince, having charged her with ſuch crimes, and though upon his death-bed, he teſtified his ſorrow and repentance for ſuch accuſations, as being wholly groundleſs; yet the report, taken up by his means, continued, and ſhe being accuſed by thoſe afflicted, and upon ſearch a tet, as they call it, being found, ſhe was brought in guilty by the jury; ſhe received her ſentence of death, and was executed, *June* 10, but made not the leaſt confeſſion of any thing relating to witchcraft.

June 15. Several miniſters in and near *Boſton*, having been to that end conſulted by his Excellency, expreſt their minds to this effect, *viz.*

That they were affected with the deplorable ſtate of the afflicted; that they were thankful for the diligent care of the rulers, to detect the abominable witchcrafts, which have been committed in the country, praying for a perfect diſcovery thereof. But adviſed to a cautious proceeding, leaſt many evils enſue, &c. And that tenderneſs be uſed towards thoſe accuſed, relating to matters preſumptive and convictive, and alſo to privacy in examinations, and to conſult Mr. *Perkins*, and Mr. *Bernard*, what teſts to make uſe of in the ſcrutiny: That preſumptions and convictions ought to have better grounds, than the accuſers affirming that they ſee ſuch perſons' ſpectres afflicting them; and that the Devil may afflict in the ſhape of good men; and that falling at the ſight, and riſing at the touch of the accuſed, is no infallible proof of guilt; that ſeeing the devil's ſtrength conſiſts in ſuch accuſa-

tions, our diſbelieving them may be a means to put a period to the dreadful calamities; nevertheleſs they humbly recommend to the government, the ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution of ſuch as have rendered themſelves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the laws of God, and the wholeſome ſtatutes of the *Engliſh* nation, for the detection of witchcraft.

This is briefly the ſubſtance of what may be ſeen more at large in *Caſes of Conſcience. (ult.)* And one of them ſince taking occaſion to repeat ſome part of this advice, *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, p. 83. declares, (notwithſtanding the diſſatisfaction of others) that if his ſaid book may conduce to promote thankfulneſs to God for ſuch executions, he ſhall rejoice, &c.

The 30th of *June*, the court according to adjournment again ſat; five more were tried, *viz.* *Sarah Good* and *Rebecca Nurſe*, of Salem-Village; *Suſanna Martin* of Amſbury; *Elizabeth How* of Ipſwich; and *Sarah Wildes* of Topsfield: theſe were all condemned that ſeſſion, and were all executed on the 19th of *July*.

At the trial of *Sarah Good*, one of the afflicted fell in a fit, and after coming out of it, ſhe cried out of the priſoner, for ſtabbing her in the breaſt with a knife, and that ſhe had broken the knife in ſtabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the court, a young man was called, who produced a haft and part of the blade, which the court having viewed and compared, ſaw it to be the ſame. And upon inquiry

the

the young man affirmed, that yeſterday he happened to brake that knife, and that he caſt away the upper part, this afflicted perſon being then preſent, the young man was diſmiſſed, and ſhe was bidden by the court not to tell lies ; and was improved after (as ſhe had been before) to give evidence againſt the priſoners.

At the execution, Mr. *Noyes* urged *Sarah Good* to confeſs, and told her ſhe was a witch, and ſhe knew ſhe was a witch, to which ſhe replied, you are a lyar ; I am no more a witch than you are a wizard, and if you take away my life, God will give you blood to drink.

At the trial of *Rebecca Nurſe*, it was remarkable that the Jury brought in their verdict not guilty ; immediately all the accuſers in the court, and, ſuddenly after, all the afflicted out of court, made an hideous out-cry, to the amazement, not only of the ſpectators, but the court alſo ſeemed ſtrangely ſurprized : one of the Judges expreſt himſelf not ſatisfied, another of them as he was going off the bench, ſaid they would have her indicted anew. The chief Judge ſaid he would not impoſe upon the Jury ; but intimated, as if they had not well conſidered one expreſſion of the priſoner when ſhe was upon tryal, viz. That when one *Hobbs*, who had confeſſed herſelf to be a witch, was brought into the court to witneſs againſt her, the priſoner turning her head to her, ſaid, [*What, do you bring her ? ſhe is one of us*] or to that effect, this together with the clamours of the accuſers, induced the Jury to go out again, after their verdict, not guilty. But not agreeing, they

came

came into the court, and ſhe being then at the bar, her words were repeated to her, in order to have her explanation of them, and ſhe making no reply to them, they found the bill, and brought her in guilty ; theſe words being the inducement to it, as the foreman has ſignified in writing, as follows.

July 4, 1692. I *Thomas Fiſk*, the ſubſcriber hereof, being one of them that were of the Jury laſt week at Salem-court, upon the tryal of *Rebecca Nurſe*, &c. being deſired by ſome of the relations to give a reaſon why the Jury brought her in guilty, after her verdict not guilty ; I do hereby give my reaſons to be as follows, viz.

When the verdict was not guilty, the honored court was pleaſed to object againſt it, ſaying to them, that they think they let ſlip the words, which the priſoner at the bar ſpake againſt herſelf, which were ſpoken in reply to goodwife *Hobbs* and her daughter, who had been faulty in ſetting their hands to the devil's book, as they had confeſſed formerly ; the words were [*What, do theſe perſons give in evidence againſt me now ! they uſed to come among us.*] After the honored court had manifeſted their diſſatisfaction of the verdict, ſeveral of the Jury declared themſelves deſirous to go out again, and thereupon the court gave leave; but when we came to conſider of the caſe, I could not tell how to take her words, as an evidence againſt her, till ſhe had a further opportunity to put her ſenſe upon them, if ſhe would take it ; and then going into court, I mentioned the words aforeſaid, which by one of the court were affirmed to have been

been ſpoken by her, ſhe being then at the bar, but made no reply, nor interpretation of them; whereupon theſe words were to me a principal evidence againſt her.

THOMAS FISK.

When goodwife Nurſe *was informed what uſe was made of theſe words, ſhe put in this following declaration into the court.*

THESE preſents do humbly ſhew to the honored Court and Jury, that I being informed, that the Jury brought me in guilty, upon my ſaying that goodwife *Hobbs* and her daughter were of our company; but I intended no otherways, than as they were priſoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do judge them not legal evidence againſt their fellow priſoners. And I being ſomething hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the court took up my words, and therefore had no opportunity to declare what I intended, when I ſaid they were of our company.

REBECCA NURSE.

After her condemnation ſhe was by one of the miniſters of Salem excommunicated; yet the Governor ſaw cauſe to grant a reprieve, which when known (and ſome ſay immediately upon granting) the accuſers renewed their diſmal outcries againſt her, inſomuch that the Governor was by ſome Salem gentleman prevailed with to recall the reprieve, and ſhe was executed with the reſt.

The teſtimonials of her chriſtian behaviour, both in the courſe of her life, and at her death,

and her extraordinary care in educating her children, and ſetting them good examples, &c. under the hands of ſo many, are ſo numerous, that for brevity they are here omitted.

It was at the trial of theſe that one of the accuſers cried out publicly of Mr. *Willard* miniſter in Boſton, as afflicting of her, ſhe was ſent out of the court, and it was told about ſhe was miſtaken in the perſon.

Auguſt 5. The court again ſitting, ſix more were tried on the ſame account, viz. Mr. *George Burroughs*, ſometime miniſter of Wells, *John Procter*, and *Elizabeth Procter* his wife, with *John Willard* of Salem-Village, *George Jacobs* ſenior, of Salem, and *Martha Carryer* of Andover; theſe were all brought in guilty and condemned; and were all executed, *Auguſt* 19, except *Procter's* wife, who pleaded pregnancy.

Mr. *Burroughs* was carried in a cart with the others, through the ſtreets of Salem to execution; when he was upon the ladder, he made a ſpeech for the clearing of his innocency, with ſuch ſolemn and ſerious expreſſions, as were to the admiration of all preſent; his prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's prayer,) was ſo well worded, and uttered with ſuch compoſedneſs, and ſuch (at leaſt ſeeming) fervency of ſpirit, as was very affecting, and drew tears from many (ſo that it ſeemed to ſome, that the ſpectators would hinder the execution) the accuſers ſaid the black man ſtood and dictated to him; as ſoon as he was turned off, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being mounted upon a horſe, addreſſed himſelf to the people,

partly

partly to declare that he was no ordained minister, and partly to poſſeſs the people of his guilt; ſaying that the devil has often been transformed into an angel of light; and this ſomewhat appeaſed the people, and the executions went on; when he was cut down, he was dragged by the halter to a hole, or grave between the rocks, about two feet deep, his ſhirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trouſers of one executed, put on his lower parts, he was ſo put in, together with *Willard* and *Carryer*, one of his hands and his chin, and a foot of one them being left uncovered.

John Willard, had been employed to fetch in ſeveral that were accuſed; but taking diſſatisfaction from his being ſent, to fetch up ſome that he had better thoughts of, he declined the ſervice, and preſently after he himſelf was accuſed of the ſame crime, and that with ſuch vehemency, that they ſent after him to apprehend him; he had made his eſape as far as Naſhawag, about 40 miles from Salem; yet it is ſaid thoſe accuſers did then preſently tell the exact time, ſaying, now *Willard* is taken.

John Proctor and his wife being in priſon, the ſheriff came to his houſe and ſeized all the goods, proviſions, and cattle that he could come at, and ſold ſome of the cattle at half price, and killed others, and put them up for the Weſt-Indies; threw out the beer out of a barrel, and carried away the barrel; emptied a pot of broath, and took away the pot, and left nothing in the houſe for the ſupport of the children: No part of the ſaid goods are known to be returned. *Proctor* earneſtly

earneſtly requeſted Mr. *Nayes* to pray with and for him, but it was wholly denied, becauſe he would not own himſelf to be a witch.

During his impriſonment he ſent the following letter, in behalf of himſelf and others.

Salem-Priſon, July 23, 1692.

Mr. MATHER. Mr. ALLEN,
Mr. MOODY, Mr. WILLARD, and
Mr. BAILY.

Reverend Gentlemen.

THE innocency of our caſe with the enmity of our accuſers and our Judges and Jury, whom nothing but our innocent blood will ſerve, having condemned us already before our trials, being ſo much incenſed and engaged againſt us by the devil, makes us bold to beg and implore your favourable aſſiſtance of this our humble petition to his Excellency, that if it be poſſible our innocent blood may be ſpared, which undoubtedly otherwiſe will be ſhed, if the Lord doth not mercifully ſtep in. The magiſtrates, miniſters, juries, and all the people in general, being ſo much enraged and incenſed againſt us by the deluſion of the devil, which we can term no other, by reaſon we know in our own conſciences, we are all innocent perſons. Here are five perſons who have lately confeſſed themſelves to be witches, and do accuſe ſome of us, of being along with them at a ſacrament, ſince we were committed into cloſe priſon, which we know to be lies. Two of the five are (*Carrier's* ſons) young men, who would not

not confeſs any thing till they tied them neck and heels, till the blood was ready to come out of their noſes, and it is credibly believed and reported this was the occaſion of making them confeſs what they never did, by reaſon they ſaid one had been a witch a month, and another five weeks, and that their mother had made them ſo, who has been confined here this nine weeks. My ſon *William Procter*, when he was examined, becauſe he would not confeſs that he was guilty, when he was innocent, they tied him neck and heels till the blood guſhed out at his noſe, and would have kept him ſo 24 hours, if one more merciful than the reſt, had not taken pity on him, and cauſed him to be unbound. Theſe actions are very like the Popiſh cruelties. They have already undone us in our eſtates, and that will not ſerve their turns, without our innocent blood. If it cannot be granted that we can have our trials at Boſton, we humbly beg that you would endeavour to have theſe magiſtrates changed, and others in their rooms, begging alſo and beſeeching you would be pleaſed to be here, if not all, ſome of you at our trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of ſaving the ſhedding of our innocent blood, deſiring your prayers to the Lord in our behalf, we reſt your poor afflicted ſervants,

JOHN PROCTER, &c.

He pleaded very hard at execution, for a little reſpite of time, ſaying that he was not fit to die; but it was not granted.

Old *Jacobs* being condemned, the ſheriff and officers

officers came and ſeized all he had, his wife had her wedding ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy proviſions of the ſheriff, ſuch as he had taken, towards her own ſupport, which not being ſufficient, the neighbours in charity relieved her.

Margaret Jacobs being one that had confeſſed her own guilt, and teſtified againſt her grand-father *Jacobs*, Mr. *Burroughs*, and *John Willard*. She the day before execution, came to Mr. *Burroughs*, acknowledging that ſhe had belied them, and begged Mr. *Burroughs'* forgiveneſs, who not only forgave her, but alſo prayed with and for her. She wrote the following letter to her father.

From the dungeon in Salem priſon,
Auguſt 20, 1692.

Honoured Father,

AFTER my humble duty remembered to you hoping in the Lord of your good health, as bleſſed be God I enjoy, though in abundance of affliction, being cloſe confined here in a loathſome dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how ſoon I ſhall be put to death, by means of the afflicted perſons; my grand-father having ſuffered already, and all his eſtate ſeized for the king. The reaſon of my confinement is this, I having, through the magiſtrates' threatnings, and my own vile and wretched heart, confeſſed ſeveral things contrary to my conſcience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own ſoul, the Lord pardon me for it; but oh! the terrors of a wounded conſcience who can

bear.

bear. But bleſſed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my ſins, but in mercy, I hope, ſo my ſoul would not ſuffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confeſs the truth of all before the magiſtrates, who would not believe me, but 'tis their pleaſure to put me in here, and God knows how ſoon I ſhall be put to death. Dear father, let me beg your prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and ſend us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind love to you, and to uncle, viz. *D. A.* So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I reſt your dutiful daughter,

MARGARET JACOBS.

At the time appointed for her trial, ſhe had an impoſthume in her head, which was her eſcape.

September 9. Six more were tried, and received ſentence of death, viz. *Martha Cory*, of Salem-Village, *Mary Eaſty*, of Topsfield, *Alice Parker* and *Ann Pudeater* of Salem, *Dorcas Hoar* of Beverly, and *Mary Bradberry* of Saliſbury. Sept. 16, *Giles Cory* was preſt to death.

September 17. Nine more received ſentence of death, viz. *Margaret Scot* of Rowly, Goodwife *Reed* of Marblehead, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker* of Andover, alſo *Abigail Falkner* of Andover, who pleaded pregnancy, *Rebecca Eames* of Boxford, *Mary Lacy*, and *Ann Foſter* of Andover, and *Abigail Hobbs* of Topsfield. Of theſe eight were executed, Sept. 22, viz. *Martha Cory*, *Mary Eaſty*, *Alice Parker*, *Ann Pudeater*, *Margaret Scot*, *Willmet Reed*, *Samuel Wardwell*, & *Mary Parker*.

Giles Cory pleaded not guilty to his indictment,

but

but would not put himſelf upon trial by the jury (they having cleared none upon trial) and knowing there would be the ſame witneſſes againſt him, rather choſe to undergo what death they would put him to. In preſſing, his tongue being preſt out of his mouth, the ſheriff with his cane forced it in again, when he was dying. He was the firſt in New-England, that was ever preſt to death.

The cart going to the hill with theſe eight to execution, was for ſome time at a ſett ; the afflicted and others ſaid, that the devil hindred it &c.

Martha Cory, wife to *Giles Cory*, proteſting her innocency, concluded her life with an eminent prayer upon the ladder.

Wardwell having formerly confeſſed himſelf guilty, and after denied it, was ſoon brought upon his trial ; his former confeſſion and ſpectre teſtimony was all that appeared againſt him. At execution while he was ſpeaking to the people, proteſting his innocency, the executioner being at the ſame time ſmoaking tobacco, the ſmoak coming in his face, interrupted his diſcourſe, thoſe accuſers ſaid, the devil hindered him with ſmoak.

Mary Eaſty, ſiſter alſo to *Rebecca Nurſe*, when ſhe took her laſt farewell of her huſband, children and friends, was, as is reported by them preſent, as ſerious, religious, diſtinct, and affectionate as could well be expreſt, drawing tears from the eyes of almoſt all preſent. It ſeems beſides the teſtimony of the accuſers and confeſſors, another proof, as it was counted, appeared againſt her, it having been uſual to ſeaarch the accuſed for tets ; upon ſome parts of her body, not here to be named, was

found

found an excreſcence, which they called a tet. Before her death ſhe preſented the following petition:

To the honorable Judge and bench now ſitting in Judicature in Salem and the Reverend Miniſters, humbly ſheweth, that whereas your humble poor petitioner being condemned to die, doth humbly beg of you, to take it into your judicious and pious conſideration, that your poor and humble petitioner knowing my own innocency (bleſſed be the Lord for it) and ſeeing plainly the wiles and ſubtilty of my accuſers, by myſelf, cannot but judge charitably of others, that are going the ſame way with myſelf, if the Lord ſtep not mightily in. I was confined a whole month on the ſame account that I am now condemned for, and then cleared by the afflicted perſons, as ſome of your honours know, and in two days time I was cried out upon by them, and have been confined, and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my innocence then, and likewiſe doth now, as at the great day will be known my men and angels. I petition to your honours not for my own life, for I know I muſt die, and my appointed time is ſet; but the Lord he knows it is, if it be poſſible, that no more innocent blood be ſhed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and courſe you go in. I queſtion not, but your honours do to the utmoſt of your powers, in the diſcovery and detecting of witchcraft and witches, and would not be guilty of innocent blood for the world; but by my own innocency I know you are in the wrong way, the Lord in his infinite

mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his bleſſed will, that innocent blood be not ſhed; I would humbly beg of you, that your honours would be pleaſed to examine ſome of thoſe confeſſing witches, I being confident there are ſeveral of them have belied themſelves and others, as will appear, if not in this world, I am ſure in the world to come, whither I am going; and I queſtion not, but yourſelves will ſee an alteration in theſe things: They ſay, myſelf and others have made a league with the devil, we cannot confeſs, I know and the Lord knows (as will ſhortly appear) they belie me, and ſo I queſtion not but they do others; the Lord alone, who is the ſearcher of all hearts, knows that as I ſhall anſwer it at the tribunal ſeat, that I know not the leaſt thing of witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durſt not belie my own ſoul. I beg your honours not to deny this my humble petition, from a poor dying innocent perſon, and I queſtion not but the Lord will give a bleſſing to your endeavours.

MARY EASTY.

After execution Mr. *Noyes* turning him to the bodies, ſaid, what a ſad thing it is to ſee eight firebrands of hell hanging there.

In *October* 1692, One of Wenham complained of Mrs. *Hale*, whoſe huſband, the miniſter of Beverly, had been very forward in theſe proſecutions, but being fully ſatisfied of his wife's ſincere chriſtianity, cauſed him to alter his judgment; for it was come to a ſtated controverſy, among the New-England divines, whether the devil could afflict in a good man's ſhape; it ſeems nothing elſe could

convince

convince him : yet when it came ſo near to himſelf, he was ſoon convinced that the devil might ſo afflict. Which ſame reaſon did afterwards prevail with many others ; and much influenced to the ſucceeding change at trials.

October 7. (*Edward Biſhop* and his wife having made their eſcape out of priſon) this day Mr. *Corwin* the ſheriff, came and ſeized his goods, and cattle, and had it not been for his ſecond ſon (who borrowed ten Pound and gave it him) they had been wholly loſt, the receipt follows ; but it ſeems they muſt be content with ſuch a receipt as he would give them.

Received this 7th day of October 1692, of *Samuel Piſhop*, of the town of Salem, of the county of Eſſex, in New-England, Cordwainer, in full ſatisfaction, a valuable ſum of money, for the goods and chattels of *Edward Biſhop*, ſenior, of the town and county aforeſaid, Huſbandman ; which goods and chattels being ſeized, for that the ſaid *Edward Biſhop*, and *Sarah* wis wife, having been committed for witchcraft and felony, have made their eſcape ; and their goods and chattels were forfeited unto their mageſties, and now being in poſſeſſion of the ſaid *Samuel Biſhop* ; and in behalf of their majeſties, I do hereby diſcharge the ſaid goods and chattels, the day and year above written, as witneſs my hand, GEORGE CORWIN, *Sheriff*.

But before this the ſaid *Biſhop's* eldeſt ſon, having married into that family of the *Putmans*, who were chief proſecutors in this buſineſs ; he holding a cow to be branded leſt it ſhould be ſeized, and having a puſh or boil upon his thigh, with his

ſtraining

ſtraining it broke ; this is that that was pretended to be burnt with the ſaid brand ; and is one of the bones thrown to the dogmatical to pick, in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, p. 143. the other, of a corner of a ſheet, pretended to be taken from a ſpectre, it is known that it was provided the day before, by that afflicted perſon, and the third bone of a ſpindle is almoſt as eaſily provided, as the piece of the knife ; ſo that *Apollo* needs not herein be conſulted, &c.

Mr. *Philip Engliſh*, and his wife having made their eſcape out of priſon, Mr. *Corwin* the ſheriff ſeized his eſtate, to the value of about fifteen hundred pound, which was wholly loſt to him, except about three hundred pound value, (which was afterward reſtored.)

After goodwife *Hoar* was condemned, her eſtate was ſeized, and was alſo bought again for eight pound.

George Jacobs, ſon to old *Jacobs* being accuſed, he fled ; then the officers came to his houſe, his wife was a woman crazy in her ſenſes and had been ſo ſeveral years. She it ſeems had been alſo accuſed, there were in the houſe with her only four ſmall children, and one of them ſucked her eldeſt daughter, being in priſon ; the officer perſuaded her out of the houſe, to go along with him, telling her ſhe ſhould ſpeedily return, the children ran a great way after her crying.

When ſhe came where the afflicted were, being aſked, they ſaid they did not know her, at length one ſaid, don't you know *Jacobs* the old witch, and then they cried out of her, and fell down in

their fits ; ſhe was ſent to priſon, and lay there ten months, the neighbours of pity took care of the children to preſerve them from periſhing.

About this time a new ſcene was begun, one *Joſeph Ballard* of Andover, whoſe wife was ill (and after died of a fever) ſent to Salem for ſome of thoſe accuſers, to tell him who afflicted his wife ; others did the like : horſe and man were ſent from ſeveral places to fetch thoſe accuſers who had the ſpectral ſight, that they might thereby tell who afflicted thoſe that were any ways ill.

When theſe came into any place where ſuch were, uſually they fell into a fit ; after which being aſked who it was that afflicted the perſon, they would, for the moſt part, name one whom they ſaid ſat on the head, and another that ſat on the lower parts of the afflicted. Soon after *Ballard*'s ſending (as above) more than fifty of the people of Andover were complained of, for afflicting their neighbours. Here it was that many accuſed themſelves, of riding upon poles through the air ; many parents believing their children to be witches, and many huſbands their wives, &c. When theſe accuſers came to the houſe of any upon ſuch account, it was ordinary for other young people to be taken in fits, and to have the ſame ſpectral ſight.

Mr. *Dudley Bradſtreet*, a Juſtice of peace in Andover, having granted out warrants againſt, and committed thirty or forty to priſon, for the ſuppoſed witchcrafts, at length ſaw cauſe to forbear granting out any more warrants. Soon after which he and his wife were cried out of, himſelf was (by

them) ſaid to have killed nine perſons by witchcraft, and found it his ſafeſt courſe to make his eſcape.

A dog being afflicted at Salem-Village, thoſe that had the ſpectral ſight being ſent for, they accuſed Mr. *John Bradſtreet* (brother to the Juſtice) that he afflicted the ſaid dog, and now rid upon him: He made his eſcape into Peſcatuqua-Government, and the dog was put to death, and was all of the afflicted that ſuffered death.

At Andover, the afflicted complained of a dog, as afflicting them, and would fall into their fits at the dogs looking upon them; the dog was put to death.

A worthy Gentleman of Boſton, being about this time accuſed by thoſe at Andover, he ſent by ſome particular friends a writ to arreſt thoſe accuſers in a thouſand pound action for defamation, with inſtructions to them, to inform themſelves of the certainty of the proof, in doing which their buſineſs was perceived, and from thence forward the accuſations at Andover generally ceaſed.

In *October* ſome of theſe accuſers were ſent for to *Glouceſter*, and occaſioned four women to be ſent to priſon, but Salem priſon being ſo full it could receive no more; two were ſent to Ipſwich priſon. In *November* they were ſent for again by Lieutenant *Stephens*, who was told that a ſiſter of his was bewitched; in their way paſſing over Ipſwitch-bridge, they met with an old woman, and inſtantly fell into their fits: But by this time the validity of ſuch accuſations being much queſtioned, they found not that encouragement they had done elſewhere, and ſoon withdrew.

Theſe accuſers ſwore that they ſaw three perſons ſitting upon Lieutenant *Stephens*'s ſiſter till ſhe died; yet bond was accepted for thoſe three.

And now nineteen perſons having been hanged, and one preſt to death, and eight more condemned, in all twenty-eight, of which above a third part were members of ſome of the churches in New-England, and more than half of them of a good converſation in general, and not one cleared. About fifty having confeſt themſelves to be witches, of which not one executed; above an hundred and fity in priſon, and above two hundred more accuſed. The ſpecial commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* comes to a period, which has no other foundation than the Governor's commiſſion; and had proceeded in the manner of ſwearing witneſſes, viz. By holding up the hand, (and by receiving evidences in writing) according to the ancient uſuge of this country; as alſo having their indictments in Engliſh. In the trials, when any were indicted for afflicting, pining, and waſting the bodies of particular perſons by witchcraft; it was uſual to hear evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps twenty or thirty years ſtanding, about over-ſetting carts, the death of cattle, unkindneſs to relations, or unexpected accidents befalling after ſome quarrel. Whether this was admitted by the law of England, or by what other law, wants to be determined; the executions ſeemed mixt, in preſſing to death for not pleading, which moſt agrees with the laws of England, and ſentencing women to be hanged for witchcraft, according to the former practice of this

country,

country, and not by burning, as is ſaid to have been the law of England. And though the confeſſing witches were many; yet not one of them that confeſſed their own guilt, and abode by their confeſſion were put to death.

Here followeth what account ſome of thoſe miſerable creatures give of their confeſſion under their own hands.

We whoſe names are under written, inhabitants of Andover, when as that horrible and tremendous judgment beginning at Salem-Village, in the year 1692, (by ſome) called witchcraft, firſt breaking forth at Mr. *Parris*'s houſe, ſeveral young perſons being ſeemingly afflicted, did accuſe ſeveral perſons for afflicting them, and many there believing it ſo to be; we being informed that if a perſon were ſick, that the afflicted perſons could tell, what or who was the cauſe of that ſickneſs. *Joſeph Ballard* of Andover (his wife being ſick at the ſame time) he either from himſelf, or by the advice of others, fetched two of the perſons called the afflicted perſons, from Salem-Village to Andover: Which was the beginning of that dreadful calamity that befel us in Andover. And the authority in Andover, believing the ſaid accuſations to be true, ſent for the ſaid perſons to come together to the meeting-houſe in Andover (the afflicted perſons being there.) After Mr. *Bernard* had been at prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted perſons, they being in their fits, and falling into their fits at our coming into their preſence (as they ſaid) and ſome led us and laid our hands upon them, and then

they

they ſaid they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting of them ; whereupon we were all ſeized as priſoners, by a warrant from a Juſtice of the peace, and forthwith carried to Salem. And by reaſon of that ſudden ſurprizal, we knowing ourſelves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly aſtoniſhed and amazed, and affrighted even out of our reaſon ; and our neareſt and deareſt relations, ſeeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to ſave our lives, as the caſe was then circumſtanced but by our confeſſing ourſelves to be ſuch and ſuch perſons, as the afflicted repreſented us to be, they out of tender love and pity perſuaded us to confeſs what we did confeſs. And indeed that confeſſion, that it is ſaid we made, was no other than what was ſuggeſted to us by ſome gentlemen ; they telling us, that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which make us think that it was ſo ; and our underſtanding, our reaſon, and our faculties almoſt gone ; we were not capable of judging our condition ; as alſo the hard meaſures they uſed with us, rendered us uncapable of making our defence ; but ſaid any thing and every thing which they deſired, and moſt of what we ſaid, was but in effect a conſenting to what they ſaid. Sometime after when we were better compoſed, they telling of us what we had confeſſed, we did profeſs that we were innocent, and ignorant of ſuch things. And we hearing that *Samuel Wardwell* had renounced his confeſſion, and quickly after

condemned

condemned and executed, ſome of us were told that we were going after *Wardwell*.

Mary Oſgood, Mary Tiler, Deliv. Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilſon, Hannah Tiler.

It may here be further added cencerning thoſe that did confeſs, that beſides that powerful argument, of life (and freedom from hardſhips, not only promiſed, but alſo performed to all that owned their guilt.) There are numerous inſtances, too many to be here inſerted, of the tedious examinations before private perſons, many hours together; they all that time urging them to confeſs (and taking turns to perſuade them) till the accuſed were wearied out by being forced to ſtand ſo long, or for want of ſleep, &c. and ſo brought to give an aſſent to what they ſaid; they then aſking them, were you at ſuch a witch-meeting, or have you ſigned the devil's book, &c. upon their replying, yes, the whole was drawn into form, as their confeſſion.

But that which did mightily further ſuch confeſſions, was their neareſt relations urging them to it. Theſe ſeeing no other way of eſcape for them, thought it the beſt advice that could be given; hence it was that the huſbands of ſome, by counſel often urging, and utmoſt earneſtneſs, and children upon their knees intreating, have at length prevailed with them, to ſay they were guilty.

AS to the manner of trials, and the evidence taken for convictions at *Salem*, it is already

dy ſet forth in print, by the Rev. Mr. *Cotton Mather* in his *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, at the command of his excellency Sir *William Phips*; with not only the recommendation, but thanks of the Lieutenant Governor; and with the approbation of the Reverend Mr. *J. M.* in his poſtſcript in his *Caſes of Conſcience*; which laſt book was ſet forth by the conſent of the miniſters in and near *Boſton*.

Two of the Judges have alſo given their ſentiments in theſe words, p. 147.

The Reverend and worthy author, having at the direction of his excellency the Governor, ſo far obliged the public, as to give ſome account of the ſufferings, brought upon the country by witchcrafts, and of the trials which have paſſed upon ſeveral executed for the ſame.

Upon peruſal thereof, we find the matters of fact and evidence truly reported, and a proſpect given of the methods of conviction, uſed in the proceedings of the court at Salem.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
SAMUEL SEWALL.

Boſton, Oct. 11, 1692.

And conſidering that this may fall into the hands of ſuch as never ſaw thoſe wonders, it may be needful to tranſcribe the whole account he has given thereof, without any variation (but with one of the indictments annexed to the trial of each) which is thus prefaced, p. 81, 82, 83.

BUT

BUT I ſhall no longer detain my reader from his expected entertainment, in a brief account of the trials, which have paſſed upon ſome of the malefactors, lately executed at *Salem*, for the witchcrafts whereof they ſtood convicted. For my own part I was not preſent at any of them; nor ever had I any perſonal prejudice againſt the perſons thus brought upon the ſtage; much leſs, at the ſurviving relations of thoſe perſons, with and for whom, I would be as hearty a mourner, as any man living in the world: *The Lord comfort them!* But having received a command ſo to do, I can do no other than ſhortly relate the chief matters of fact, which occured in the trials of ſome that were executed; in an abridgment collected out of the court-papers, on this occaſion put into my hands. You are to take the truth, juſt as it was; and the truth will hurt no good man. There might have been more of theſe; and if ſome other worthy hands did not perhaps intend ſomething further in theſe collections; for which cauſe I have only ſingled out four or five, which may ſerve to illuſtrate the way of dealing, wherein witchcrafts uſe to be concerned; and I report matters not as an advocate, but as an hiſtorian.

They were ſome of the gracious words inſerted in the advice, which many of the neighbouring miniſters did this ſummer humbly lay before our honorable judges, we cannot but with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge the ſucceſs, which the merciful God has given unto the ſedulous and aſſiduous endeavours of our honorable rulers, to de-

tect

tect the abominable witchcrafts, which have been committed in the country; humbly praying that the diſcovery of thoſe myſterious, and miſchievous wickedneſſes, may be perfected. If in the midſt of the many diſſatisfactions among us, the publication of theſe trials, may promote ſuch a pious thankfulneſs unto God, for juſtice being ſo far executed among us, I ſhall rejoice that God is glorified; and pray that no wrong ſteps of ours may ever ſully any of his glorious works.

The Indictment of GEORGE BURROUGHS.

Eſſex ſſ. *Annò Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*——

THE jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady the King and Queen, preſent, that *George Burroughs*, late of Falmouth, in the province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, in New-England, Clerk.

The 9th day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady *William* and *Mary*, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen defenders of the faith, &c. And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts, and ſorceries, wickedly & teloniouſly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the townſhip of Salem, in the county of Eſſex aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of Salem-Village, in the County of Eſſex, ſingle-woman, by which ſaid wicked arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the 9th day of May, in the fourth year aboveſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured,

afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, the King and Queen, and againſt the form of the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes, *Mary Wolcott*, *Sarah Vibber*, *Mercy Lewis*, *Ann Putnam*, *Eliz. Hubbard*.

Endorſed by the grand Jury, *Billa Vera*.

There was alſo a ſecond indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, the witneſſes to the ſaid indictment were *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, and *Ann Putnam*.

The third indictment was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis*: the witneſſes, the ſaid *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Ann Putnam*.

The fourth for acts of witchcraft on *Ann Putnam*, the witneſſes, the ſaid *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Mary Warren*.

The trial of G. B. *as printed in* Wonders of the Inviſible World, *from p.* 94. *to* 104.

GLAD ſhould I have been, if I had never known the name of this man; or never had this occaſion to mention ſo much as the firſt letters of his name. But the government requiring ſome account of his trial, to be inſerted in this book, it becomes me with all obedience to ſubmit unto the order.

1. This *G. B.* was indicted for witchcrafts; and in the proſecution of the charge againſt him, he was accuſed by five or ſix of the bewitched, as the author of their miſeries; he was accuſed by

eight

eight of the confeſſing witches, as being an head actor at ſome of their helliſh rendezvous, and who had the promiſe of being a King in Satan's kingdom, now going to be erected; he was accuſed by nine perſons, for extraordinary lifting, and ſuch feats of ſtrength as could not be done without a diabolical aſſiſtance. And for other ſuch things he was accuſed, until about thirty teſtimonies were brought in againſt him; nor were theſe judged the half of what might have been conſidered, for his conviction: however they were enough to fix the character of a witch upon him, according to the rules of reaſoning, by the judicious *Gaule*, in that caſe directed.

The court being ſenſible, that the teſtimonies of the parties bewitched, uſed to have a room among the ſuſpicions, or preſumptions, brought in againſt one indicted for witchcraft, there were now heard the teſtimonies of ſeveral perſons, who were moſt notoriouſly bewitched, and every day tortured by inviſible hands, and theſe now all charged the ſpectres of *G. B.* to have a ſhare in their torments. At the examination of this *G. B.* the bewitched people were grievouſly harraſſed with preternatural miſchiefs, which could not poſſibly be diſſembled; and they ſtill aſcribed it unto the endeavours of *G. B.* to kill them. And now upon his trial, one of the bewitched perſons teſtified, that in her agonies a little black-haired man came to her, ſaying his name was *B.* and bidding her ſet her hand unto a book, which he ſhewed unto her; and bragging that he was a conjurer above the ordinary rank of witches; that he often

perſecuted

perſecuted her, with the offer of that book, ſaying, ſhe ſhould be well, and need fear nobody, if ſhe would but ſign it : but he inflicted cruel pains and hurts upon her, becauſe of her denying ſo to do. The teſtimonies of the other ſufferers concurred with theſe ; and it was remarkable, that whereas biting, was one of the ways, which the witches uſed, for the vexing of the ſufferers, when they cried out of *G. B.* biting them, the print of his teeth would be ſeen on the fleſh of the complainers ; and juſt ſuch a ſet of teeth as *G. B*'s. would then appear upon them, which could be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of ſome other men's.

Others of them teſtified, that in their torments *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a ſacrament, unto which they perceived him with a ſound of trumpet ſummoning other witches ; who quickly after the ſound would come from all quarters unto the rendezvous. One of them falling into a kind of trance, afterwards affirmed, that *G. B.* had carried her into a very high mountain, where he ſhowed her mighty and glorious kingdoms, and ſaid he would give them all to her, if ſhe would write in his book ; but ſhe told him, they were none of his to give ; and refuſed the motions ; enduring much miſery for that refuſal.

It coſt the court a wonderful deal of trouble to hear the teſtimonies of the ſufferers ; for when they were going to give in their depoſitions, they would for a long while be taken with fits, that made them uncapable of ſaying any thing. The chief Judge aſked the priſoner, who he thought hindered theſe witneſſes from giving their teſtimonies ?

nies? and he anſwered, he ſuppoſed it was the devil. That honorable perſon then replied, how comes the devil ſo loth to have any teſtimony borne againſt you? which caſt him into very great confuſion.

3. It hath been a frequent thing for the bewitched people, to be entertained with apparitions of ghoſts of murdered people, at the ſame time that the ſpectres of the witches trouble them. Theſe ghoſts do always affright the beholders, more than all the other ſpectral repreſentations; and when they exhibit themſelves, they cry out of being murdered by the witchcrafts or other violences of the perſons who are then in ſpectre preſent. It is further conſiderable, that once or twice theſe apparitions have been ſeen by others, at the very ſame time they have ſhown themſelves to the bewitched; and ſeldom have there been theſe apparitions, but when ſomething unuſual and ſuſpected hath attended the death of the party thus appearing. Some that have been accuſed by theſe apparitions, accoſting the bewitched people, who had never heard a word of any ſuch perſons ever being in the world, have upon a fair examination, freely and fully confeſſed the murders of thoſe very perſons, although theſe alſo did not know how the apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly ſeveral of the bewitched had given in their teſtimony, that they had been troubled with the apparitions of two women, who ſaid they were *G. B*'s two wives; and that he had been the death of them; and that the magiſtrates muſt be told of it, before whom, if *B.* upon his trial deni-

ed it, they did not know but that they ſhould appear again in the court. Now *G. B.* had been infamous, for the barbarous uſage of his two ſucceſſive wives, all the country over. Moreover, it was teſtified, the ſpectre of *G. B.* threatening the ſufferers, told them he had killed (beſides others) Mrs. *Lawſon*, and her daughter *Ann*. And it was noted, that theſe were the virtuous wife & daughter of one, at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice, for being ſerviceable at Salem-Village, from whence himſelf had in ill terms removed ſome years before, and that when they died, which was long ſince, there were ſome odd circumſtances about them, which made ſome of the attendants there ſuſpect ſomething of witchcraft, though none imagined from what quarter it ſhould come.

Well *G. B.* being now upon his trial, one of the bewitched perſons was caſt into horror at the ghoſts of *B*'s. two deceaſed wives, then appearing before him, and crying for vengeance againſt him. Hereupon ſeveral of the bewitched perſons were ſucceſſively called in, who all, not knowing what the former had ſeen and ſaid, concurred in their horror of the apparition, which they affirmed, that he had before him. But he, though much appalled, utterly denied that he diſcerned any thing of it, nor was it any part of his conviction.

4. Judicious writers have aſſigned it a great place, in the conviction of witches, when perſons are impeached by other notorious witches to be as ill as themſelves, eſpecially if the perſons have been much noted for neglecting the worſhip of God. Now as there might have been teſtimonies

enough

enough of *G. B*'s. antipathy to prayer, and the other ordinances of God, though by his profeſſion ſingularly obliged thereunto ; ſo there now came in againſt the priſoner, the teſtimonies of ſeveral perſons, who confeſſed their own having been horrible witches, and ever ſince their confeſſions, had been themſelves terribly tortured by the devils and other witches, even like the other ſufferers ; and therein undergone the pains of many deaths for their confeſſions.

Theſe now teſtified, that *G. B.* had been at witch-meetings with them ; and that he was the perſon who had ſeduced and compelled them into the ſnares of witchcraft : that he promiſed them fine cloaths for doing it ; that he brought popets to them, and thorns to ſtick into thoſe popets, for the afflicting of other people : And that he exhorted them, with the reſt of the crew to bewitch all *Salem*-Village ; but be ſure to do it gradually ; if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancaſhire* witches were condemned, I do not remember that there was any conſiderable further evidence, than that of the bewitched, and than that of ſome that had confeſſed. We ſee ſo much already againſt *G. B.* But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had already been produced credible.

5. A famous divine, recites this among the convictions of a witch ; the teſtimony of the party bewitched, whether pining or dying ; together with the joint oaths of ſufficient perſons, that have ſeen certain prodigious pranks or feats,

wrought

wrought by the party accuſed. Now God had been pleaſed ſo to leave *G. B.* that he had enſnared himſelf, by ſeveral inſtances, which he had formerly given of a preternatural ſtrength ; and which were now produced againſt him. He was a very puny man, yet he had often done things beyond the ſtrength of a giant. A gun of about 7 feet barrel, and ſo heavy that ſtrong men could not ſteadily hold it out, with both hands ; there were ſeveral teſtimonies given in by perſons of credit and honor, that he made nothing of taking up ſuch a gun behind the lock with but one hand, and holding it out like a piſtol, at arms-end. *G. B.* in his vindication was ſo fooliſh, as to ſay, that an *Indian* was there, and held it out, at the ſame time : whereas, none of the ſpectators ever ſaw any ſuch *Indian* ; but they ſuppoſed the blackman (as the witches call the devil ; and they generally ſay he reſembles an *Indian*) might give him that aſſiſtance. There was evidence likewiſe brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole barrels filled with molaſſes, or cyder, in very diſadvantageous poſtures, and carrying them off thro' the moſt difficult places, out of a canoe to the ſhore.

Yea, there were two teſtimonies, that *G. B.* with only putting the fore-finger of his right hand into the muzzle of an heavy gun, a fowling piece of about ſix or ſeven feet barrel, lifted up the gun, and held it out at arms-end ; a gun which the deponents, though ſtrong men, could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the but-end, as is uſual. Indeed one of theſe witneſſes,

neſſes, was over-perſuaded by ſome perſons to be out of way upon *G. B*'s. trial; but he came afterwards, with ſorrow for his withdrawing, and gave in his teſtimony. Nor were either of theſe witneſſes made uſe of as evidence in the trial.

6. There came in ſeveral teſtimonies, relating to the domeſtic affairs of *G. B.* which had a very hard aſpect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill man, but alſo confirmed the belief of the character, which had been already faſtened on him.

'Twas teſtified, that keeping his two ſucceſſive wives in a ſtrange kind of ſlavery, he would, when he came home from abroad, pretend to tell the talk which any had with them. That he has brought them to the point of death, by his harſh dealings with his wives, and then made the people about him to promiſe that in caſe death ſhould happen they would ſay nothing of it. That he uſed all means to make his wives write, ſign, ſeal, and ſwear a covenant never to reveal any of his ſecrets. That his wives had privately complained unto the neighbours about frightly apparitions of evil ſpirits, with which their houſe was ſometimes infeſted; and that many ſuch things have been whiſpered among the neighbourhood. There were alſo ſome other teſtimonies, relating to the death of people, whereby the conſciences of an impartial jury were convinced, that *G. B.* had bewitched the perſons mentioned in the complaints. But I am forced to omit ſeveral ſuch paſſages in this as well as in all the ſucceeding trials, becauſe the ſcribes who took notice of them, have not ſupplied me.

7. One

7. One Mr. *Ruck*, brother in law to this *G. B.* teſtified that *G. B.* and he himſelf, and his ſiſter, who was *G. B*'s. wife, going out for two or three miles, to gather ſtrawberries, *Ruck* with his ſiſter, the wife of G. B. rode home very ſoftly, with G. B. on foot, in their company, G. B. ſtept aſide a little into the buſhes, whereupon they halted and hollowed for him. He not anſwering, they went away homewards, with a quickened pace; without any expectation of ſeeing him in a conſiderable while: and yet when they were got near home, to their aſtoniſhment they found him on foot, with them, having a baſket of ſtrawberries. G. B. immediately then fell to chiding his wife, on the account of what ſhe had been ſpeaking to her brother of him on the road: which when they wondered at, he ſaid, he knew their thoughts. *Ruck* being ſtartled at that, made ſome reply, intimating that the devil himſelf did not know ſo far; but G. B. anſwered, my God, makes known your thoughts unto me. The priſoner now at the bar had nothing to anſwer unto what was thus witneſſed againſt him, that was worth conſidering. Only he ſaid, *Ruck* and his wife left a man with him, when they left him. Which *Ruck* now affirmed to be falſe; and when the court aſked G. B. what the man's name was? his countenance was much altered; nor could he ſay who it was. But the court began to think that he then ſtept aſide, only that by the aſſiſtance of the black man, he might put on his inviſibility, and in that faſcinating miſt, gratify his own jealous humour, to hear what they ſaid of him. Which trick of rendering themſelves inviſible, our witches

do

do in their confeſſions pretend that they ſometimes are maſters of; and it is the more credible, becauſe there is demonſtration that they often render many other things utterly inviſible.

8. Faultering, faulty, unconſtant, and contrary anſwers upon judicial and deliberate examination, are counted ſome unlucky ſymptoms of guilt in all crimes, eſpecially in witchcrafts. Now there never was a priſoner more eminent for them, than *G. B.* both at his examination and on his trial. His tergiverſations, contradictions, and falſehoods, were very ſenſible: he had little to ſay, but that he had heard ſome things that he could not prove, reflecting upon the reputation of ſome of the witneſſes. Only he gave in a paper to the jury; wherein, altho' he had many times before granted, not only that there are witches, but alſo that the preſent ſufferings of the country are the effects of horrible witchcrafts, yet he now goes to evince it, that there neither are nor ever were, witches, that having made a compact with the devil, can ſend a devil to torment other people at a diſtance. This paper was tranſcribed out of *Ady*; which the court preſently knew, as ſoon as they heard it. But he ſaid, he had taken none of it out of any book; for which his evaſion afterwards was, that a gentleman gave him the diſcourſe in a manuſcript, from whence he tranſcribed it.

9. The jury brought him in guilty; but when he came to die, he utterly denied the fact, whereof he had been thus convicted.

The

The Indictment of BRIDGET BISHOP.

Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.

Eſſex ſſ. THE jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady, the king and queen preſent, That *Bridget Biſhop*, alias *Oliver*, the wife of *Edward Biſhop* in *Salem*, in the county of *Eſſex*, Sawyer, the nineteenth day of April, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, king and queen, defenders of the faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts, and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiced, and exerciſed at, and within the townſhip of *Salem*, in the county of *Eſſex*, aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one *Mercy Lewis*, of Salem-Village, in the county aforeſaid, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked arts, the ſaid *Mercy Lewis*, the ſaid nineteenth day of April, in the fourth year above ſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is hurt, tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, the king and queen, and againſt the form of the ſtatute, in that caſe made and provided.

Endorſed Billa Vera.

WITNESSES—*Mary Lewis*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Thomas Putnam*, junior, *Mary Walcott*, junior, *Ann Putnam*, junior, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Abigail Williams*.

There

There was alſo a ſecond indictment, on the ſaid *Biſhop*, for afflicting and practiſing witchcraft on *Abigail Williams*. Witneſſes to the ſaid indictment, were the ſaid *Abigail Williams*, Mr. *Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Walcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*.

The third indictment was for afflicting *Mary Walcott*, witneſſes to which ſaid indictment, were *Mary Walcott*, *Mary Lewis*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Abigail Williams*.

The fourth indictment was for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, witneſſes to which ſaid indictment, were the ſaid *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mercy Lewis*, Mr. *Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Walcott*, *Abigail Williams*.

The fifth indictment was for afflicting *Ann Putnam*, witneſſes to which ſaid indictment, were the ſaid *Ann Putnam*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Abigail Williams*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*.

The trial of BRIDGET BISHOP, *as printed, in* Wonders of the Inviſible World, *June* 2, 1692. *from p.* 104 *to* 114.

1. SHE was indicted for bewitching ſeveral perſons in the neighbourhood. The indictment being drawn up, according to the form in ſuch caſes uſual, and pleading not guilty, there were brought in ſeveral perſons, who had long undergone many kinds of miſeries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally aſcribed unto an horrible witchcraft. There was little occaſion

to prove the witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all beholders. Now to fix the witchcraft on the priſoner at the bar, the firſt thing uſed was, the teſtimony of the bewitched; whereof ſeveral teſtified, that the ſhape of the priſoner did oftentimes very grievouſly pinch them, choak them, bite them, and afflict them; urging them to write their names in a book, which the ſaid ſpectre called ours. One of them did further teſtify, that it was the ſhape of this priſoner, with another, which one day took her from her wheel, and carrying her to the river ſide, threatened there to drown her, if ſhe did not ſign the book mentioned, which yet ſhe refuſed. Others of them did alſo teſtify, that the ſaid ſhape, did in her threats, brag to them, that ſhe had been the death of ſundry perſons, then by her named. Another teſtifyed, the apparition of ghoſts unto the ſpectre of *Biſhop*, crying out, *You murdered us.* About the truth whereof, there was in the matter of fact, but too much ſuſpicion.

2. It was teſtified, that at the examination of the priſoner, before the magiſtrates, the bewitched were extremely tortured. If ſhe did but caſt her eyes on them, they were preſently ſtruck down; and this in ſuch a manner as there could be no colluſion in the buſineſs. But upon the touch of her hand upon them, when they lay in their ſwoons, they would immediately revive; and not upon the touch of any one's elſe. Moreover upon ſome ſpecial actions of her body, as the ſhaking of her head, or the turning of her eyes, they preſently and painfully fell into the like poſtures. And

many

many of the like accidents now fell out, while ſhe was at the bar. One at the ſame time teſtifying, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not be troubled to ſee the afflicted thus tormented.

3. There was teſtimony likewiſe brought in, that a man ſtriking once at the place, where a bewitched perſon ſaid, the ſhape of this *Biſhop* ſtood, the bewitched cryed out that he had tore her coat, in the place then particularly ſpecified; and the woman's coat was found to be torn in the very place.

4. One *Deliverance Hobbs*, who had confeſſed her being a witch, was now tormented by the ſpectres for her confeſſion. And ſhe now teſtified that this *Biſhop* tempted her to ſign the book again, & to deny what ſhe had confeſſed. She affirmed, that it was the ſhape of this priſoner, which whipped her with iron rods, to compel her thereunto. And ſhe affirmed, that this *Biſhop* was at a general meeting of the witches in a field, at Salem-Village, and there partook of a diabolical ſacrament, in bread and wine then adminiſtered.

5. To render it further unqueſtionable, that the priſoner at the bar was the perſon truly charged in this witchcraft; there were produced many evidences of other witchcrafts, by her perpetrated. For inſtance, *John Cook* teſtified, that about five or ſix years ago, one morning about ſun-riſe, he was in his chamber, aſſaulted by the ſhape of this priſoner: which looked on him, grinned at him, and very much hurt him, with a blow on the ſide of the head; and that on the ſame day about noon, the ſame ſhape walked in the room where

he

he was, and an apple ſtrangely flew out of his hand, into the lap of his mother, ſix or eight feet from him.

6. *Samuel Gray* teſtifyed, that about fourteen years ago, he waked on a night, and ſaw the room where he lay full of light ; and that he then ſaw plainly a woman between the cradle and the bed-ſide, which looked upon him. He roſe, and it vaniſhed ; though he found the doors all faſt : Looking out at the entry door, he ſaw the ſame woman in the ſame garb again ; and ſaid, *In God's name, what do you come for ?* He went to bed, and had the ſame woman again aſſaulting him. The child in the cradle gave a great ſcreech, and the woman diſappeared. It was long before the child could be quieted ; and tho' it were a very likely thriving child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers months died in a ſad condition. He knew not *Biſhop*, nor her name ; but when he ſaw her after this, he knew by her countenance, and apparel, and all circumſtances, that it was the apparition of this *Biſhop*, which had thus troubled him.

7. *John Bly* and his wife, teſtified, that he bought a ſow of *Edward Biſhop*, the huſband of the priſoner ; and was to pay the price agreed unto another perſon. This priſoner being angry that ſhe was thus hindered from fingering the money, quarreled with *Bly*, ſoon after which the ſow was taken with ſtrange fits, jumping, leaping, and knocking her head againſt the fence, ſhe ſeemed blind and deaf, and would neither eat nor be ſucked. Whereupon a neighbour ſaid, ſhe believed the creature was over-looked ; and ſundry

other

other circumſtances concurred, which made the deponents believe that *Biſhop* had bewitched it.

8. *Richard Coman* teſtifyed, that eight years ago, as he lay awake in his bed, with a light burning in the room, he was annoyed with the apparition of this *Biſhop*, and of two more that were ſtrangers to him ; who came and oppreſſed him, ſo that he could neither ſtir himſelf, nor wake any one elſe : and that he was the night after moleſted again in the like manner ; the ſaid Biſhop taking him by the throat, and pulling him almoſt out of the bed. His kinſman offered for this cauſe to lodge with him ; and that night, as they were awake diſcourſing together, this *Coman* was once more viſited by the gueſts which had formerly been ſo troubleſome, his kinſman being at the ſame time ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and unable to move hand or foot. He had laid his ſword by him ; which thoſe unhappy ſpectres, did ſtrive much to wreſt from him, but he held too faſt for them. He then grew able to call the people of his houſe ; but although they heard him, yet they had not power to ſpeak or ſtir, until at laſt, one of the people crying out, what's the matter ! the ſpectres all vaniſhed.

9. *Samuel Shattock* teſtified, that in the year, 1680. This *Bridget Biſhop*, often came to his houſe upon ſuch frivolous and fooliſh errands, that they ſuſpected ſhe came indeed with a purpoſe of miſchief. Preſently whereupon his eldeſt child, which was of as promiſing health and ſenſe, as any child of its age, began to droop exceedingly ; and the oftener that Biſhop came to his houſe,

the worſe grew the child. As the child would be ſtanding at the door, he would be thrown and bruiſed againſt the ſtones, by an inviſible hand, and in like ſort knock his face againſt the ſides of the houſe, and bruiſe it after a miſerable manner. Afterwards this *Biſhop* would bring him things to die, whereof he could not imagine any uſe; and when ſhe paid him a piece of money, the purſe and money were unaccountably conveyed out of a locked box, and never ſeen more. The child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible fits, whereof his friends thought he would have died: Indeed he did nothing but cry and ſleep, for ſeveral months together; and at length his underſtanding was utterly taken away. Among other ſymptoms of an inchantment upon him one was, that there was a board in the garden, whereon he would walk; and all the invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About ſeventeen or eighteen years after, there came a ſtranger to *Shattock's* houſe, who ſeeing the child, ſaid, *This poor child is bewitched; and you have a neighbour living not far off who is a witch.* He added, *your neighbour has had a falling out with your wife; and ſhe ſaid in her heart, your wife is a proud woman, and ſhe would bring down her pride in this child:* He then remembered, that *Biſhop* had parted from his wife in muttering, and menacing terms, a little before the child was taken ill. The aboveſaid ſtranger would needs carry the bewitched boy with him to *Biſhop's* houſe, on pretence of buying a pot of cyder. The woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew alſo upon the boy,

ſcratching

ſcratching his face till the blood came, and ſaying, *Thou rogue, what? doſt thou bring this fellow here to plague me?* Now it ſeems the man had ſaid before he went, that he would fetch blood of her. Ever after the boy was followed with grievous fits, which the doctors themſelves generally aſcribed unto witchcraft; and wherein he would be thrown ſtill into fire or water, if he were not conſtantly looked after; and it was verily believed that *Biſhop* was the cauſe of it.

10. *John Louder* teſtified, that upon ſome little controverſy with *Biſhop* about her fowls, going well to bed, he awaked in the night by moonlight, and clearly ſaw the likeneſs of this woman grieviouſly oppreſſing him. In which miſerable condition ſhe held him unable to help himſelf, till near day. He told *Biſhop* of this; but ſhe utterly denied it, and threatened him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lord's day, with the doors ſhut about him, he ſaw a black pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vaniſhed away. Immediately after ſitting down he ſaw a black thing jump in at the window, and come and ſtand before him. The body was like that of a monkey, the feet like a cock's, but the face much like a man's. He being ſo extremely afrighted, that he could not ſpeak; this monſter ſpoke to him and ſaid, *I am a meſſenger ſent unto you, for I underſtand that you are in ſome trouble of mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you ſhall want for nothing in this world.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no ſubſtance, and it jump-

ed

ed out of the window again; but immediately came in by the porch, though the doors were ſhut, and ſaid, *You had better take my counſel!* He then ſtruck at it with a ſtick, but ſtruck only the groundſel, and broke the ſtick. The arm with which he ſtruck was preſently diſenabled, and it vaniſhed away. He preſently went out at the back door, and ſpied this *Biſhop*, in her orchard, going toward her houſe; but he had not power to ſet one foot forward unto her. Whereupon returning into the houſe, he was immediately accoſted by the monſter he had ſeen before; which goblin was now going to fly at him: whereat he cried out, *The whole armour of God be between me and you!* ſo it ſprang back, and flew over the apple-tree; ſhaking many apples off the tree in its flying over. At its leap, it flung dirt with its feet, againſt the ſtomach of the man; whereon he was then ſtruck dumb, and ſo continued for three days together. Upon the producing of this teſtimony, *Biſhop* denied that ſhe knew this deponent. Yet their two orchards joined, and they had often had their little quarrels for ſome years together.

11. *William Stacy* teſtified, that receiving money of this *Biſhop*, for work done by him, he was gone but about three rods from her, and looking for his money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, *Biſhop* asked him whether his father would grind her griſt for her? He demanded why? ſhe replied, becauſe folks count me a witch. He anſwered, no queſtion, but he will grind it for you; being then gone about ſix rods from her,

with

with a ſmall load in his cart, ſuddenly the off wheel ſlumpt, and ſunk down into an hole, upon plain ground, ſo that the deponent, was forced to get help for the recovering of the wheel. But ſtepping back to look for the hole which might give him this diſaſter, there was none at all to be found. Some time after he was awakened in the night; but it ſeemed as light as day, and he perfectly ſaw the ſhape of this *Biſhop*, in the room troubling him, but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charged *Biſhop* afterwards with it, and ſhe denied it not ; but was very angry. Quickly after, this deponent having been threatened by *Biſhop*, as he was in a dark night going to the barn, he was very ſuddenly taken or lifted up from the ground and thrown againſt a ſtone-wall ; after that he was again hoiſted up, and thrown down a bank, at the end of his houſe. After this, again paſſing by this *Biſhop*, his horſe with a ſmall load, ſtriving to draw, all his gears flew to pieces, and the cart fell down ; and this deponent going then to lift a bag of corn, of about two buſhels, could not lift it with all his might.

Many other pranks of this *Biſhop*, this deponent was ready to teſtify. He alſo teſtifyed, that he verily believed, the ſaid *Biſhop* was the inſtrument of his daughter *Priſcilla's* death ; of which ſuſpicion, pregnant reaſons were aſſigned.

12. To crown all *John Bly* & *William Bly* teſtified, that being employed by Bridget Biſhop, to help take down the cellar-wall of the old houſe, wherein ſhe formerly lived, they did in holes of the ſaid old wall, find ſeveral poppets made up of

rags

rags, and hogs briſtles, with headleſs pins in them, the points being outward. Whereof ſhe could now give no account unto the court, that was reaſonable or tolerable.

13. One thing that made againſt the priſoner was, her being evidently convicted of groſs lying in the court, ſeveral times, while ſhe was making her plea. But beſides this, a jury of women, found a preternatural tet upon her body; but upon a ſecond ſearch, within three or four hours, there was no ſuch thing to be ſeen. There was alſo an account of other people, whom this woman had afflicted. And there might have been many more, if they had been enquired for. But there was no need of them.

14. There was one very ſtrange thing more, with which the court was newly entertained. As this woman was under a guard, paſſing by the great and ſpacious meeting houſe of Salem, ſhe gave a look towards the houſe; and immediately a Dæmon inviſibly entering the meeting houſe, tore down a part of it; ſo that though there were no perſon to be ſeen there, yet the people at the noiſe running in, found a board which was ſtrongly faſtened with ſeveral nails, tranſported unto another quarter of the houſe.

The Indictment of SUSANNA MARTIN.

Eſſex ſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*—

THE jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady the King and Queen, preſent, that *Suſanna Martin* of Ameſbury in the County of Eſſex, Widow,

dow, the ſecond day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady *William* and *Mary*, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen, defenders of the faith, &c. And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts, and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the townſhip of Salem, in the county of Eſſex aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of Salem-Village, in the county of Eſſex, ſingle-woman, by which ſaid wicked arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the ſecond day of May, in the fourth year aforeſaid, & at divers other days & times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented; as alſo for ſundry other acts of witchcraft, by ſaid *Suſanna Martin*, committed and done before and ſince that time, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of England; their crown and dignity, and againſt the form of the ſtatute, in that caſe made and provided.

Returned by the Grand-Jury, *Billa Vera.*

Witneſſes—*Sarah Vibber*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Samuel Parris*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Mercy Lewis*.

The ſecond indictment was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis*. Witneſſes—*Samuel Parris*, *Ann Putnam*, *Sarah Vibber*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, and *Mercy Lewis*.

The

The trial of Suſanna Martin, *June* 29, 1692. *As is printed, in* Wonders of the inviſible World, *from p.* 114 *to p.* 116.

1. SUSANNA MARTIN, pleading not guilty, to the indictment of witchcraft brought in againſt her ; there were produced the evidences of many perſons very ſenſibly and grievouſly bewitched ; who all complained of the priſoner at the bar, as the perſon whom they believed the cauſe of their miſeries. And now as well as in the other trials, there was an extraordinary endeavour by witchcrafts, with cruel and frequent fits, to hinder the poor ſufferers, from giving in their complaints ; which the court was forced with much patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

There was now alſo an account given, of what had paſſed at her firſt examination before the magiſtrates. The caſt of her eye then ſtriking the afflicted people to the ground, whether they ſaw that caſt or no : There were theſe among other paſſages between the magiſtrates and the examinant.

Magiſtrate. Pray, what ails theſe people ?

Martin. I don't know.

Magiſt. But, what do you think ails them ?

Martin. I do not deſire to ſpend my judgment upon it.

Magiſt. Don't you think they are bewitched ?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Magiſt. Tell us your thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my thoughts are my own when they are in, but when they are out, they are anothers. Their maſter——

Magiſt.

Magiſt. Their maſter! Who do you think is their maſter?

Martin. If they be dealing in the black art, you may know as well as I.

Magiſt. Well, what have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magiſt. Why, 'tis you or your appearance.

Martin. I can't help it.

Magiſt. Is it not your maſter? How comes your appearance to hurt theſe?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the ſhape of *Samuel*, a glorified ſaint may appear in any ones ſhape.

It was then alſo noted in her, as in others like her, that if the afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the ground. And, when ſhe was aſked the reaſon of it, ſhe ſaid, I cannot tell, it may be, the devil bears me more malice than another.—

The court accounted themſelves alarmed by theſe things, to inquire further into the converſation of the priſoner; and ſee what there might occur, to render theſe accuſations further credible. Whereupon *John Allen*, of *Saliſbury* teſtified, that he refuſing, becauſe of the weakneſs of his oxen, to cart ſome ſtaves at the requeſt of this *Martin*, ſhe was diſpleaſed at it, and ſaid, it had been as good that he had; for his oxen ſhould never do him much more ſervice. Whereupon this deponent ſaid, doſt thou threaten me, thou old witch? I'll throw thee into the brook: which to avoid, ſhe flew over the bridge and eſcaped. But as he was going home, one of his oxen tired, ſo that he was

forced to unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his oxen with many more, upon Saliſbury-beach, where cattle uſed to get fleſh. In a few days, all the oxen upon the beach were found by their tracks, to have run unto the mouth of merrimack-river and not returned; but the next day they were found come aſhore upon Plum-Iſland. They that ſought them, uſed all imaginable gentleneſs, but they would ſtill run away with a violence, that ſeemed wholly diabolical, till they came near the mouth of Merrimack-river; when they ran right into the ſea, ſwimming as far as they could be ſeen. One of them then ſwam back again, with a ſwitftneſs amazing to the beholders, who ſtood ready to receive him, and help up his tired carcaſs: but the beaſt ran furiouſly up into the iſland, and from thence through the marſhes, up into *Newbury* town, and ſo up into the woods; and after a while found near *Ameſbury*. So that of fourteen good oxen, there was only this ſaved: the reſt were all caſt up, ſome in one place, and ſome in another, drowned.

4. *John Atkinſon* teſtified, that he exchanged a cow, with a ſon of *Suſanna Martin*, whereat ſhe muttered, and was unwilling he ſhould have it. Going to receive this cow, tho' he hamſtringed her, and haltered her, ſhe of a tame creature grew ſo mad, that they could ſcarce get her along. She broke all the ropes that were faſtened unto her, and though ſhe was tied faſt unto a tree, yet ſhe made her eſcape, and gave them ſuch further trouble, as they could aſcribe to no cauſe but witchcraft.

5. *Bernard*

5. *Bernard Peache* teſtified that being in bed, on a Lord's day night, he heard a ſcrabbling at the window, whereat he then ſaw *Suſanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the floor. She took hold of this deponent's feet, and drawing his body up into an heap, ſhe lay upon him near two hours; in all which time he could neither ſpeak nor ſtir. At length when he could begin to move, he laid hold on her hand, and pulling it up to his mouth, he bit three of her fingers as he judged to the bone. Whereupon ſhe went from the chamber down the ſtairs, out at the door. This deponent thereupon called unto the people of the houſe to adviſe them of what paſſed; and he himſelf followed her. The people ſaw her not; but there being a bucket at the left hand of the door, there was a drop of blood on it; and ſeveral more drops of blood upon the ſnow, newly fallen abroad. There was likewiſe the print of her two feet, juſt without the threſhold; but no more ſign of any footing further off.

At another time this deponent was deſired by the priſoner, to come to a huſking of corn, at her houſe; and ſhe ſaid, *If he did not come, it were better that he did!* He went not; but the night following, *Suſanna Martin*, as he judged, and another came towards him. One of them ſaid, *here he is!* but he, having a quarterſtaff, made a blow at them. The roof of the barn broke his blow; but following them to the window, he made another blow at them, and ſtruck them down; yet they got up, and got out, and he ſaw no more of them.

About

About this time, there was a rumour about the town, that *Martin* had a broken head; but the deponent could ſay nothing to that.

The ſaid *Peache* alſo teſtified, the bewitching of cattle to death, upon *Martin's* diſcontents.

6. *Robert Downer* teſtified, that this priſoner being ſome years ago proſecuted at court for a witch, he then ſaid unto her, *he believed ſhe was a witch.* Whereat ſhe being diſatisfied, ſaid, *that ſome ſhe-devil would ſhortly fetch him away*; which words were heard by others, as well as himſelf; the night following, as he lay in his bed, there came in at the window, the likeneſs of a cat, which flew upon him, and took faſt hold of his throat, lay on him a conſiderable while, and almoſt killed him; at length he remembered what *Suſanna Martin* had threatened the day before, and with much ſtriving, he cried out, *Avoid thou ſhe-devil, in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, avoid:* Whereupon it left him, leaped on the floor, and flew out at the window.

And there alſo came in ſeveral teſtimonies that before ever *Downer* ſpoke a word of this accident, *Suſanna Martin* and her family had related how this *Downer* had been handled.

7. *John Kembal* teſtified, that *Suſanna Martin*, upon a cauſeleſs diſguſt had threatned him about a certain cow of his, that ſhe ſhould never do him any more good, and it came to paſs accordingly; for ſoon after the cow was found ſtark dead on the dry ground, without any diſtemper to be diſcerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with

a ſtrange

a ſtrange death upon more of his cattle. Whereof he loſt in one ſpring, to the value of 30 *l.* But the ſaid *John Kembal*, had a further teſtimony to give in againſt the priſoner, wich was truly admirable. Being deſirous to furniſh himſelf with a dog, he applied himſelf to buy one of this *Martin*, who had a bitch with whelps in her houſe, but ſhe not letting him have his choice; he ſaid, he would ſupply himſelf then at one Blezdel's. Having marked a puppy which he liked at *Blezdel's*, he met George Martin, the huſband of the priſoner going by, who aſked whether he would not have one of his wife's puppies; and he anſwered, no. The ſame day one *Edmund Eliot*, being at Martin's houſe heard *George Martin* relate where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had ſaid; whereupon *Suſanna Martin* replied, if I live I'll give him puppies enough. Within a few days after this, *Kembal* coming out of the woods, there aroſe a little black cloud in the *N. W.* and *Kembal* immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the ſtumps of trees that were before him, although he had a broad plain cart way before him; but tho' he had his axe alſo on his ſhoulder to endanger him in his falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the meeting-houſe, there appeared to him a little thing like a puppy of a darkiſh colour, and it ſhot backwards and forwards between his legs. He had the courage to uſe all poſſible endeavours to cut it with his axe, but he could not hit it; the puppy gave a jump from him and went, as to him

it ſeemed into the ground. Going a little further there appeared unto him a black puppy, ſomewhat bigger than the firſt, but as black as a coal. It's motions were quicker than thoſe of his axe. It flew at his belly, and at its throat, ſo over his ſhoulders one way, and then over his ſhoulders another way, his heart now began to fail him, and he thought the dog would have tore his throat out. But he recovered himſelf, and called upon God in his diſtreſs, and naming the name of Jeſus Chriſt it vaniſhed away at once. The deponent ſpoke not one word of theſe accidents, for fear of affrighting his wife. But the next morning, *Edmund Eliot* going into *Martin*'s houſe, this woman aſked him, where *Kembal* was? He replied, at home a bed, four ought he knew. She returned; they ſay he was frighted laſt night. *Eliot* aſked with what? She anſwered with puppies. *Eliot* aſked, where ſhe heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it! She rejoined, about the town. Although *Kembal* had mentioned the matter to no creature living.

8. *William Brown* teſtified, that heaven having bleſſed him with a moſt pious and prudent wife, this wife of his, one day met with *Suſanna Martin*: but when ſhe approached juſt unto her, *Martin* vaniſhed out of ſight, and lett her extremely affrighted. After which time the ſaid *Martin* often appeared unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when ſhe did come, ſhe was viſited with birds that ſorely pecked and pricked her; and ſometimes a bunch like a pullet's egg would riſe on her throat, ready to choak her, till ſhe cried

out,

out, *Witch, you ſhan't choak me!* While this good woman was in this extremity, the church appointed a day of prayer on her behalf; whereupon the trouble ceaſed; ſhe ſaw not *Martin* as formerly; and the church inſtead of their faſt, gave thanks for her deliverance. But a conſiderable while after, ſhe being ſummoned to give in ſome evidence at the court, againſt this *Martin*, quickly this *Martin* came behind her, while ſhe was milking her cow, and ſaid unto her, *for thy defaming me at court, I'll make thee the miſerableſt creature in the world.* Soon after which ſhe fell into a ſtrange kind of diſtemper, and became horribly frantic, and uncapable of any reaſonable action, the phyſicians declaring that her diſtemper was preternatural, and that ſome devil had certainly bewitched her; and in that condition ſhe now remained.

9. *Sarah Atkinſon* teſtified, that *Suſanna Martin* came from Ameſbury, to their houſe at Newbury, in an extraordinary ſeaſon, when it was not fit for any one to travel. She came (as ſhe ſaid to *Atkinſon*) all that long way on foot. She bragged and ſhowed how dry ſhe was; nor could it be perceived that ſo much as the ſoles of her ſhoes were wet. *Atkinſon* was amazed at it, and profeſſed, that ſhe ſhould herſelf have been wet up to the knees, if ſhe had then come ſo far; but *Martin* replied, *ſhe ſcorned to be drabbled!* It was noted that this teſtimony upon her trial, caſt her into a very ſingular confuſion.

10. *John Preſſy* teſtified, that being one evening very unaccountably bewildered near a field of *Martin*, and ſeveral times as one under an enchant-

ment,

ment, returning to the place he had left, at length he saw a marvellous light, about the bigness of an half bushel, near two rods out of the way. He went and struck at it with a stick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near forty blows; and felt it a palpable substance. But going from it, his heels were struck up, and he was laid with his back on the ground; sliding as he thought into a pit: from whence he recovered, by taking hold on the bush; although afterwards he could find no such pit in the place. Having after his recovery, gone five or six rods, he saw *Susanna Martin* standing on his left hand, as the light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could scarce find his house in his return; but at length he got home, extremely affrighted. The next day it was upon enquiry understood, that *Martin* was in a miserable condition by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further testifyed by this deponent, that after he had given in some evidence against *Susanna Martin* many years ago, she gave him foul words about it, and said, *he should never prosper, more particularly, that he should never have more than two cows: that though he were ever so likely to have more, yet he should never have them.* And that from that very day to this; namely for twenty years together, he could never exceed that number; but some strange thing or other still prevented his having any more.

11. *Jarvis Ring* testified that about seven years ago he was oftentimes grievously oppressed in the night; but saw not who troubled him, until at length

length he lying perfectly awake, plainly saw *Susanna Martin* approach him. She came to him and forcibly bit him by the finger ; so that the print of the bite is now so long after to be seen upon him.

12. But besides all these evidences, there was a most wonderful account of one *Joseph Ring* produced on this occasion. This man has been strangely carried about by *Dæmons*. From one witch-meeting to another, for near two years together ; and for one quarter of this time they made him and kept him dumb, though he is now again able to speak. There was one *T. H.* who having, as 'tis judged, a design of engaging this *Joseph Rule* in a snare of deviliſm, contrived a while, to bring this *Ring* two shillings in debt unto him. Afterwards this poor man would be visited with unknown shapes, and this *T. H.* sometimes among them ; which would force him away with them, unto unknown places, where he saw meetings, feastings, dancings ; and after his return wherein they hurried him along through the air, he gave demonstrations to the neighbours, that he had indeed been so trasported. When he was brought unto these hellish meetings, one of the first things they still did unto him, was to give him a knock on the back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with chains, uncapable of stirring out of the place, till they should release him. He related, that there often came to him a man, who presented him a book, whereto he would have him set his hand ; promising him that he should then have even what he would ;

and

and preſenting him with all the delectable things, perſons, and places, that he could imagine. But he refuſing to ſubſcribe, the buſineſs would end with dreadful ſhapes, noiſes and ſcreeches, which almoſt ſcared him out of his wits. Once with a book, there was a pen offered him, and an ink-horn, with liquor in it, that ſeemed like blood: but he never touched it.

This man did now affirm, that he ſaw the priſoner, at ſeveral of thoſe helliſh rendezvous.

Note—This woman was one of the moſt impudent, ſcurrilous, wicked creatures in the world; and ſhe now throughout her whole trial, diſcovered herſelf to be ſuch an one. Yet when ſhe was aſked what ſhe had to ſay for herſelf, her chief plea was, that ſhe had led a moſt virtuous and holy life.

The Indictment of ELIZABENH HOW.

Eſſex ſſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*—

THE jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady, the king and queen preſent, That *Elizabeth How*, wife of *James How*, of Ipſwich, the thirty firſt day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king and queen, defenders of the faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiced, and exerciſ-

ed

ed at, and within the townſhip of Salem, in the county of Eſſex aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott*, of Salem-Village, in the county aforeſaid, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked arts, the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the ſaid thirty firſt day of May, in the fourth year as aboveſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented; and alſo for ſundry other acts of witchcrafts, by ſaid *Elizabeth How*; committed and done before and ſince that time, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, the king and queen, and againſt the form of the ſtatute, in that caſe made and provided.

WITNESSES—*Mary Wolcott*, *Ann Putnam*, *Abigail Williams*, *Samuel Pearly*, and his wife *Ruth*, *Joſeph Andrews*, and wife *Sarah*, *John Sherrin*, *Joſeph Safford*, *Francis Lane*, *Lydia Foſter*, *Iſaac Cummins*, Junior.

There was alſo a ſecond Indictment for afflicting *Mercy Lewis*.

Witneſſes—*Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Abigail Williams*, *Ann Putnam*, *Samuel Pearly* and wife, *Joſeph Andrews* and wife, *John Sherrin*, *Joſeph Safford*, *Francis Lane*, *Lydia Foſter*.

The trial of ELIZABETH HOW, *June* 30, 1692. *As is printed in* Wonders of the Inviſible World, *from p.* 126 *to p.* 132, *incluſively*.

1. ELIZABETH HOW, pleading not guilty to the indictment of witchcrafts, then charged

ed upon her ; the court, according to the uſual proceeding of the courts in England in ſuch caſes, began with hearing the depoſition of ſeveral afflicted people, who were grievouſly tormented by ſenſible and evident witchcraſts, and all complained of the priſoner, as the cauſe of their trouble. It was alſo found that the ſufferers were not able to bear her look, as likewiſe, that in their greateſt ſwoons, they diſtinguiſhed her touch from other people's, being thereby raiſed out of them.

And there was other teſtimony of people to whom the ſhape of this *How*, gave trouble nine or ten years ago.

2. It has been a moſt uſual thing for the bewitched perſons at the ſame time that the ſpectres repreſenting the witches, troubled them to be viſited with apparitions of ghoſts, pretending to have been murdered by the witches then repreſented. And ſometimes the confeſſions of the witches afterwards acknowledged thoſe very murders, which theſe apparations charged upon them ; although they had never heard what information had been given by the ſufferers.

There was ſuch apparitions of ghoſts teſtified by ſome of the preſent ſufferers, and the ghoſts affirmed that this *How* had murdered them : which things were feared, but not proved.

3. This *How* had made ſome attempts of joining to the church at Ipſwich, ſeveral years ago ; but ſhe was denied an admiſſion into that holy ſociety, partly through a ſuſpicion of witchcraft, then urged againſt her. And there now came in teſtimony of preternatural miſchiefs, preſently

befalling

befalling ſome that had been inſtrumental to debar her from the communion whereupon ſhe was intruding.

4. There was a particular depoſition of *Joſeph Safford*, that his wife had conceived an extreme averſion to this *How*, on the reports of her witchcrafts; but *How* one day taking her by the hand, and ſaying, *I believe you are not ignorant of the great ſcandal that I lie under by an evil report raiſed upon me.* She immediately, unreaſonably, and unperſuadeably, even like one inchanted, began to take this woman's part. *How* being ſoon after propounded, as deſiring an admiſſion to the table of the Lord, ſome of the pious brethren were unſatisfied about her. The elders appointed a meeting to hear matters objected againſt her; and no arguments in the world could hinder this goodwife *Safford* from going to the lecture. She did indeed promiſe with much ado that ſhe would not go to the church-meeting; yet ſhe could not refrain going thither alſo. *How*'s affairs was ſo canvaſſed, that ſhe came off rather guilty, than cleared; nevertheleſs goodwife *Safford* could not forbear taking her by the hand, and ſaying, *though you are condemned before men, you are juſtified before God.* She was quickly taken in a very ſtrange manner; frantic, raving, raging, and crying out, *goody* How *muſt come into the church; ſhe is a precious ſaint, & tho' ſhe be condemned before men, ſhe is juſtified before God.* So ſhe continued for the ſpace of two or three hours; and then fell into a trance. But coming to herſelf, ſhe cried out, *ha! I was miſtaken!* afterwards again repeated, *ha! I was miſtaken!* being aſked by a ſtander by, wherein? ſhe replied,

I thought goody How *had been a precious ſaint of God, but now I ſee ſhe is a witch : ſhe has bewitched me and my child, and we ſhall never be well till there be teſtimony for her, that ſhe may be taken into the church.*

And *How* ſaid afterwards, *that ſhe was very ſorry to ſee* Safford *at the church-meeting mentioned. Safford* after this, *declared herſelf to be afflicted by the ſhape of* How, *and from that ſhape ſhe endured many miſeries.*

5. *John How*, brother to the huſband of the priſoner teſtified that he refuſing to accompany the priſoner unto her examination as was by her deſired, immediately ſome of his cattle, were bewitched to death, leaping three or four feet high, turning about, ſqueaking, falling and dying at once ; and going to cut off an ear, for an uſe, that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the hand wherein he held his knife was taken very numb ; and ſo it remained, and full of pain for ſeveral days ; being not well at this very time. And he ſuſpected this priſoner for the author of it.

6. *Nehemiah Abbot* teſtified, that unuſual and miſchievous accidents would befall his cattle, whenever he had any difference with this priſoner. Once particularly ſhe wiſhed his ox choaked, and within a little while, that ox was choaked with a turnip in his throat. At another time, refuſing to lend his horſe at the requeſt of her daughter, the horſe was in a preternatural manner abuſed. And ſeveral other odd things of that kind were teſtified.

7. There came in teſtimony that one goodwife *Sherwin*, upon ſome difference with *How* was be-

bewitched

witched, and that ſhe died charging this *How* of having an hand in her death. And that other people had their barrels of drink unaccountably miſchiefed, ſpoiled, and ſpilt upon their diſpleaſing her.

The things in themſelves were trivial; but there being ſuch a courſe of them, it made them the more to be conſidered. Among others, *Martha Wood* gave her teſtimony that a little after, her father had been employed in gathering an account of this *How*'s converſation, they once and again loſt great quantities of drink, out of their veſſels, in ſuch a manner, as they could aſcribe to nothing but witchcraft. As alſo that *How* giving her ſome apples, when ſhe had eaten of them, ſhe was taken with a very ſtrange kind of a maze, inſomuch that ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid or did.

8. There was likewiſe a cluſter of depoſitions, that one *Iſaac Cummings*, refuſing to lend his mare, to the huſband of this *How*; the mare was within a day or two taken in a ſtrange condition. The beaſt ſeemed much abuſed; being bruiſed, as if ſhe had been running over the rocks, and marked where the bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot bridle. Moreover one uſing a pipe of tobacco for the cure of the beaſt, a blue flame iſſued out of her, took hold of her hair, and not only ſpread and burnt on her, but it alſo flew upwards towards the roof of the barn, and had like to have ſet the barn on fire. And the mare died very ſuddenly.

9. *Timothy Pearly* and his wife teſtified, not only that unaccountable miſchiefs befel their cattle upon their having differences with this priſoner;

but

but alſo that they had a daughter deſtroyed by witchcrafts ; which daughter ſtill charged *How* as the cauſe of her affliction ; and it was noted that ſhe would be ſtruck down whenever *How* was ſpoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the fire, and into the water, in her ſtrange fits ; though her father had corrected her for charging *How* with bewitching her, yet (as was teſtified by others alſo) ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſure of it, and muſt die ſtanding to it. Accordingly ſhe charged *How* to the very death ; and ſaid, *though* How *could afflict and torment her body, yet ſhe could not hurt her ſoul, and that the truth of this matter would appear when ſhe ſhould be dead and gone.*

10. *Francis Lane* teſtified that being hired by the huſband of this *How* to get him a parcel of poſts and rails, this *Lane* hired *John Pearly* to aſſiſt him. This priſoner then told *Lane* that ſhe believed the poſts and rails would not do, becauſe *John Pearly* helped him ; but that if he had gotten them alone without *John Pearly*'s help, they they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his poſts and rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the ends, they, though good and ſound yet accountably broke off, ſo that *Lane* was forced to get thirty or forty more. And this priſoner being informed of it, ſhe ſaid, *ſhe told him ſo before : becauſe* Pearly *helpt about them.*

11. Afterwards there came in the confeſſions of ſeveral other (penitent) witches, which affirmed this *How* to be one of thoſe who with them had been baptized by the devil in the river, at Newbury-falls : before which he made them there kneel down by the brink of the river, and worſhip him.

The

The Indictment of MARTHA CARRYER.

Eſſex ſſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Wilielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto*——

THE Jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady the King and Queen, preſent, that *Martha Carryer*, wife of *Thomas Carryer* of Andover, in the County of Eſſex, Huſbandman, the thirty firſt day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen, defenders of the faith, &c. And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts, and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at, and within the townſhip of Salem, in the County of Eſſex aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of Salem-Village, ſingle woman, in the County of Eſſex aforeſaid; by which ſaid wicked arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the thirty firſt day of May, in the fourth year aforeſaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented; againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of England; their crown and dignity, and againſt the form of the ſtatute, in that caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes—*Mary Wolcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam.*

There was alſo a ſecond indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, by witchcraft. Witneſſes —*Elizabeth Hubbard, Mary Wolcott, Ann Putnam, Mary Warrin.*

The trial of MARTHA CARRYER, *Auguſt* 2, 1692.
As may be ſeen in Wonders of the Inviſible World, *from p.* 132, *to p.* 138.

1. MARTHA CARRYER was indicted for the bewitching of certain perſons according to the form uſual in ſuch caſes: Pleading not guilty to her indictment; there were firſt brought in a conſiderable number of the bewitched perſons; who not only made the court ſenſible of an horrid witchcraft committed upon them, but alſo depoſed, that it was *Martha Carryer*, or her ſhape, that grievouſly tormented them by biting, pricking, pinching and choaking them. It was further depoſed that while this *Carryer* was on her examination before the magiſtrates, the poor people were ſo tortured, that every one expected their death upon the very ſpot; but that upon the binding of *Carryer* they were eaſed. Moreover the looks of *Carryer* then laid the afflicted people for dead, and her touch, if her eyes at the ſame time were off them, raiſed them again. Which things were alſo now ſeen upon her trial. And it was teſtified, that upon the mention of ſome having their necks twiſted almoſt round by the ſhape of this *Carryer*, ſhe replied, *Its no matter, though their necks had been twiſted quite off.*

2. Before the trial of this priſoner, ſeveral of her own children had frankly and fully confeſſed not only that they were witches themſelves, but that their mother had made them ſo. This confeſſion they made with great ſhows of repentance, and with much demonſtration of truth. They relate l place; time; occaſio n; they gave an account

of

of journeys, meetings, and miſchiefs by them performed; and were very credible in what they ſaid. Nevertheleſs, this evidence was not produced againſt the priſoner at the bar, in as much as there was other evidence enough to proceed upon.

3. *Benj. Abbot* gave in his teſtimony that laſt *March* was a twelve month this *Carryer* was very angry with him, upon laying out ſome land near her huſband's. Her expreſſions in this anger were, that ſhe would ſtick as cloſe to *Abbot*, as the bark ſtuck to the tree; and that he ſhould repent of it before ſeven years came to an end, ſo as doctor *Preſcot* ſhould never cure him. Theſe words were heard by others beſides *Abbot* himſelf, who alſo heard her ſay, ſhe would hold his noſe as cloſe to the grind-ſtone as ever it was held ſince his name was *Abbot*. Preſently after this he was taken with a ſwelling in his foot, and then with a pain in his ſide, and exceedingly tormented. It bred a ſore, which was lanced by Dr. *Preſcot*, and ſeveral gallons of corruption ran out of it. For ſix weeks it continued very bad, and then another ſore bred in his groin, which was alſo lanced by Dr. *Preſcot*. Another ſore bred in his groin which was likewiſe cut, and put him to very great miſery. He was brought to death's door, and ſo remained until *Carryer* was taken, and carried away by the conſtable. From which very day he began to mend, and ſo grew better every day, and is well ever ſince.

Sarah Abbot alſo his wife teſtified that her huſband was not only all this while afflicted in his body; but alſo that ſtrange, extraordinary and

unaccountable

unaccountable calamities befel his cattle; their death being ſuch as they could gueſs no natural reaſon for.

4. *Allin Toothaker* teſtified that *Richard*, the ſon of *Martha Carryer*, having ſome difference with him, pulled him down by the hair of the head, when he roſe again, he was going to ſtrike at *Richard Carryer*, but fell down flat on his back to the ground, and had not power to ſtir hand or foot, until he told *Carryer* he yielded; and then he ſaw the ſhape of *Martha Carryer*, go off his breaſt.

This *Toothaker* had received a wound in the wars, and he now teſtified, that *Martha Carryer* told him, he ſhould never be cured. Juſt before the apprehending of *Carryer*, he could thruſt a knitting-needle into his wound four inches deep, but preſently after her being ſeized, he was thoroughly healed.

He further teſtified that when *Carryer* and he ſometimes were at variance, ſhe would clap her hands at him and ſay, *he ſhould get nothing by it*. Whereupon he ſeveral times loſt his cattle by ſtrange deaths whereof no natural cauſes could be given.

5. *John Roger* alſo teſtified that upon the threatning words of this malicious *Carryer*, his cattle would be ſtrangely bewitched; as was more particularly then deſcribed.

6. *Samuel Preſton* teſtified that about two years ago, having ſome difference with *Martha Carryer*, he loſt a cow in a ſtrange, preternatural, unuſual manner; and about a month after this, the ſaid

Carryer

Carryer, having again ſome difference with him, ſhe told him, he had lately loſt a cow, and it ſhould not be long before he loſt another! which accordingly came to paſs; for he had a thriving and weil kept cow, which without any known cauſe quickly fell down and died.

7. *Phebe Chandler* teſtified that about a fortnight before the apprehenſion of *Martha Carryer*, on a lords day, while the pſalm was ſinging in the church, this *Carryer* then took her by the ſhoulder, and ſhaking her, aſked her where ſhe lived? ſhe made her no anſwer, although as *Carryer*, who lived next door to her father's houſe, could not in reaſon but know who ſhe was. Quickly after this, as ſhe was at ſeveral times croſſing the fields ſhe heard a voice that ſhe took to be *Martha Carryer*'s, and it ſeemed as if it were over her head. The voice told her, *ſhe ſhould within two or three days be poiſoned:* Accordingly within ſuch a little time, one half of her right hand became greatly ſwollen and very painful; as alſo part of her face; whereof ſhe can give no account how it came. It continued very bad for ſome days; and ſeveral times ſince ſhe has had a great pain in her breaſt; and been ſo ſeized on her legs that ſhe has hardly been able to go. She added that lately going well to the houſe of God, *Richard* the ſon of *Martha Carryer*, looked very earneſtly upon her, and immediately her hand which had formerly been poiſoned, as is aboveſaid, began to pain her greatly, and ſhe had a ſtrange burning at her ſtomach; but was then ſtruck deaf, ſo that ſhe could not hear any of the prayer, or ſinging, till the two or three laſt words of the pſalm.

8. One

8. One *Foſter*, who confeſſed her own ſhare in the witchcraft, for which the priſoner ſtood indicted, affirmed, that ſhe had ſeen the priſoner at ſome of their witch-meetings, and that it was this *Carryer*, who perſuaded her to be a witch. She confeſſed that the devil carried them on a pole to a witch-meeting, but the pole broke, and ſhe hanging about *Carryer's* neck, they both fell down, and ſhe then received an hurt by the fall, whereof ſhe was not at this very time recovered.

9. One *Lacy*, who likewiſe confeſſed her ſhare in this witchcraft, now teſtified that ſhe and the priſoner, were once bodily preſent, at a witch-meeting in Salem-Village, and that ſhe knew the priſoner to be a witch, and to have been at a diabolical ſacrament, and that the priſoner was the undoing of her and her children, by enticing them into the ſnare of the devil.

10. Another *Lacy*, who alſo confeſſed her ſhare in this witchcraft, now teſtified that the priſoner was at the witch meeting in Salem-Village, where they had bread and wine adminiſtred to them.

11. In the time of this priſoner's trial, one *Suſanna Shelden* in open court, had her hands unaccountably tied together with a wheel-band ſo faſt that without cutting, it could not be looſened. It was done by a ſpectre; and the ſufferer affirmed it was the priſoners.

Memorandum. This *rampant hag*, *Martha Carryer*, was the perſon of whom the confeſſions of the witches and of her own children, among the reſt agreed that the devil had promiſed her ſhe ſhould be queen of hell.

Thus

Thus far the account given in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*; in which ſetting aſide ſuch words as theſe, in the trial of *G. B.* viz. [*They* (i. e.) *the witneſſes were enough to fix the character of a witch upon him.*

In the trial of *Biſhop*, theſe words, [*but there was no need of them*] i. e. of further teſtimony.

In the trial of *How*, where it is ſaid, [and there came in teſtimony of preternatural miſchiefs, preſently befalling ſome that had been inſtrumental to debar her from the communion, whereupon ſhe was *intruding*.] *Martin* is called one of the moſt impudent, ſcurrilous, wicked creatures in the world. In his account of *Martha Carryer*, he is pleaſed to call her a *rampant hag, &c.*

Theſe expreſſions as they manifeſt that he wrote more like an advocate than an hiſtorian; ſo alſo that thoſe that were his employers were not miſtaken in their choice of him for that work, however he may have miſſed it in other things.

As in his owning (in the trial of *G. B.*) that the *teſtimony of the bewitched, and confeſſors was not enough againſt the accuſed*, for it is known that not only in New-England, ſuch evidence has been taken for ſufficient, but alſo in England, as himſelf there owns, and will alſo hold true of Scotland, &c. they having proceeded upon ſuch evidence, to the taking away of the lives of many, to aſſert that this is not enough, is to tell the world that ſuch executions were but ſo many bloody murders; which ſurely was not his intent to ſay.

His

His telling that the court began to think that *Burroughs* ſtept aſide to put on inviſibility, is a rendering them ſo mean philoſophers, and ſuch weak chriſtians, as to be fit to be impoſed upon by any ſilly pretender.

His calling the evidence againſt *How* trivial, and others againſt *Burroughs*, he accounts no part of his conviction; and that of lifting a gun with one finger, its being not made uſe of as evidence, renders the whole but the more perplext. (Not to mention the many miſtakes therein contained.)

Yet all this (and more that might have been hinted at) does not hinder, but that his account of the manner of trials of thoſe for witchcraft is as faithfully related as any trials of that kind, that was ever yet made public; and it may alſo be reaſonably thought that there was as careful a ſcrutiny, and as unqueſtioned evidences improved, as had been formerly uſed in the trials of others, for ſuch crimes in other places. Though indeed a ſecond part might be very uſeful to ſet forth which was the evidence convictive in theſe trials, for it is not ſuppoſed that romantic or ridiculous ſtories ſhould have any influence, ſuch as biting a ſpectre's finger ſo that the blood flowed out, or ſuch as *Shattock's* ſtory of 12 years ſtanding, which yet was preſently 18 years or more, and yet a man of ſo excellent memory as to be able to recall a ſmall difference his wife had with another woman when eighten years were paſt.

As it is not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch as theſe could influence any judge or jury, ſo not unkindneſs to

relations,

relations, or God's having given to one man more ſtrength than to ſome others, the over-ſetting of carts, or the death of cattle, nor yet excreſcencies (called tets) nor little bits of rags tied together (called poppets.) Much leſs any perſons illneſs, or having their clothes rent, when a ſpectre has been well hanged, much leſs the burning the mares fart, mentioned in the trial of *How*.

None of theſe being in the leaſt capable of proving the indictment; the ſuppoſed criminals were indicted for afflicting, &c. ſuch and ſuch particular perſons by witchcraft, to which none of theſe evidences have one word to ſay, and the afflicted and confeſſors being declared not enough, the matter needs yet further explaining.

But to proceed, the general court having ſat and enacted laws, particularly one againſt witchcraft, aſſigning the penalty of death to any that ſhall feed, reward or employ, &c. evil Spirits, though it has not yet been explained what is intended thereby, or what it is to feed, reward or employ devils, &c. yet ſome of the legiſlators have given this inſtead of an explanation, that they had therein but copied the law of another country.

January 3. By virtue of an act of the General court, the firſt ſuperior court was held at Salem, for the county of Eſſex, the judges appointed were Mr. *William Stoughton* (the lieutenant governor) *Thomas Danforth*, *John Richards*, *Wait Winthorp*, and *Samuel Sewall*, Eſquires, where ignoramus was found upon the ſeveral bills of indictment againſt thirty, and *billa-vera* againſt

twenty ſix more ; of all theſe three only were found guilty by the jury upon trial, two of which were (as appears by their behaviour) the moſt ſenſeleſs and ignorant creatures that could be found ; beſides which it does not appear what came in againſt thoſe more than againſt the reſt that were acquitted.

The third was the wife of *Wardwell*, who was one of the twenty executed, and it ſeems they had both confeſſed themſelves guilty ; but he retracting his ſaid confeſſion, was tried and executed ; it is ſuppoſed that this woman fearing her huſband's fate, was not ſo ſtiff in her denials of her former confeſſion, ſuch as it was. Theſe three received ſentence of death.

At theſe trials ſome of the jury made inquiry of the court, what account they ought to make of the ſpectre evidence ? and received for anſwer [as much as of chips in wort.]

January 31, $169\frac{2}{3}$. The ſuperior court began at Charleſtown, for the county of Middleſex, Mr. *Stoughton*, M. *Danforth*, M. *Winthorp* and Mr. *Sewall* judges, where ſeveral had ignoramus returned upon their bills of indictment, and billa vera upon others.

In th e time the court ſat, word was brought in, that a reprieve was ſent to *Salem*, and had prevented the execution of ſeven of thoſe that were there condemned, which ſo moved the chief judge, that he ſaid to this effect, *We were in a way to have cleared the land of theſe, &c. who it is obſtructs the courſe of juſtice I know not ; the Lord be merciful to the country*, and ſo went off the bench,

bench, and came no more that court: The moſt remarkable of the trials, was of *Sarah Daſton*, ſhe was a woman of about 70 or 80 years of age, to uſher her in her trial, a report went before, that if there were a witch in the world ſhe was one, as having been ſo accounted of, for 20 or 30 years; which drew many people from Boſton, &c. to hear her trial. There were a multitude of witneſſes produced againſt her; but what teſtimony they gave in ſeemed wholly foreign, as of accidents, illneſs, &c. befalling them, or theirs after ſome quarrel; what theſe teſtified was much of it of actions ſaid to be done 20 years before that time. The ſpectre-evidence was not made uſe of in theſe trials, ſo that the jury ſoon bro't her in not guilty, her daughter and grand-daughter, and the reſt that were then tried, were alſo acquitted. After ſhe was cleared judge *Danforth* admoniſhed her in theſe words, *woman, woman, repent, there are ſhrewd things come in againſt you*; ſhe was remanded to priſon for her fees, and there in a ſhort time expired. One of Boſton that had been at the trial of *Daſton*, being the ſame evening in company with one of the judges in a public place, acquainted him that ſome that had been both at the trials at Salem and at this at Charleſtown, had aſſerted that there was more evidence againſt the ſaid *Daſton* than againſt any at Salem, to which the ſaid judge conceeded, ſaying, *That it was ſo.* It was replied by that perſon, *that he dare give it under his hand, that there was not enough come in againſt her to bear a juſt reproof.*

April

April 25, 1693. The firſt ſuperior court was held at Boſton, for the county of Suffolk, the Judges were the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. *Danforth*, Mr. *Richards*, and Mr. *Sewall*, Eſquires.

Where (beſides the acquitting Mr. *John Aldin* by proclamation) the moſt remarkable was, what related to *Mary Watkins*, who had been a ſervant, and lived about ſeven miles from Boſton, having formerly accuſed her miſtreſs of witchcraft, and was ſuppoſed to be diſtracted, ſhe was threatened if ſhe perſiſted in ſuch accuſations to be puniſhed, this with the neceſſary care to recover her health had that good effect that ſhe not only had her health reſtored, but alſo wholly acquitted her miſtreſs of any ſuch crimes, and continued in health till the return of the year, and then again falling into melancholy humours ſhe was found ſtrangling herſelf; her life being hereby prolonged ſhe immediately accuſed herſelf of being a witch; was carried before a magiſtrate and committed. At this court a bill of indictment was brought to the grand jury againſt her, and her confeſſion upon her examination given in as evidence, but theſe not wholly ſatisfied herewith, ſent for her, who gave ſuch account of herſelf, that they (after they had returned into the court to aſk ſome queſtions) twelve of them agreed to find ignoramus, but the court was pleaſed to ſend them out again, who again at coming in returned it as before.

She was continued for ſome time in priſon, &c. and at length was ſold to *Virginia*. About this time the priſoners in all the priſons were releaſed.

To omit here the mentioning of ſeveral wenches in *Boſton*, *&c.* who pretended to be afflicted,

and

and accuſed ſeveral, the miniſters often viſiting them, and praying with them, concerning whoſe affliction narratives are in being. In manuſcript not only theſe, but the generality of thoſe accuſers may have ſince convinced the miniſters by their vicious courſes that they might err in extending too much charity to them.

The concluſion of the whole in the Maſſachuſetts colony was ſir *William Phips*, governor, being called home; before he went he pardoned ſuch as had been condemned, for which they gave about 30 ſhillings each to the king's attorney.

In Auguſt 1697. The ſuperior court ſat at Hartford, in the colony of Connecticut, where one miſtreſs *Benom* was tried for witchcraft; ſhe had been accuſed by ſome children that pretended to the ſpectral ſight; they ſearched her ſeveral times for tets; they tried the experiment of caſting her into the water, and after this ſhe was excommunicated by the miniſter ot Wallinsford. Upon her trial nothing material appeared againſt her, ſave ſpectre evidence, ſhe was acquitted, as alſo her daughter, a girl of twelve or thirteen years old, who had been likewiſe accuſed; but upon renewed complaints againſt them, they both flew into New-York government.

Before this the government iſſued forth the following proclamation.

By the Honorable the lieutenant governor, council and aſſembly of his majeſty's province of the Maſſachuſetts bay, *in general court aſſembled.*

WHEREAS the anger of God is not yet turned away, but his hand is ſtill ſtretch-

out againſt his people in manifold judgments; particularly in drawing out to ſuch a length the troubles of Europe, by a perplexing war; and more eſpecially reſpecting ourſelves in this province, in that God is pleaſed ſtill to go on in diminiſhing our ſubſtance, cutting ſhort our harveſt, blaſting our moſt promiſſing undertakings more ways than one, unſettling us, and by his more immediate hand, ſnatching away many out of our embraces by ſudden and violent deaths, even at this time when the ſword is devouring ſo many both at home and abroad, and that after many days of public and ſolemn addreſſing him. And although conſidering the many ſins prevailing in the midſt of us, we cannot but wonder at the patience and mercy moderating theſe rebukes; yet we cannot but alſo fear that there is ſomething ſtill wanting to accompany our ſupplications. And doubtleſs there are ſome particular ſins, which God is angry with our *Iſrael* for, that have not been duly ſeen and reſented by us, about which God expects to be ſought if ever he turn again our captivity.

Wherefore it is commanded and appointed, that *Thurſday* the fourteenth of *January* next, be obſerved as a day of prayer, with faſting throughout this province, ſtrictly forbidding all ſervile labour thereon; that ſo all God's people may offer up fervent ſupplications unto him, for the preſervation, and proſperity of his majeſty's royal perſon and government, and ſucceſs to attend his affairs both at home and abroad; that all iniquity may be put away which hath ſtirred God's holy jealouſy

ouſy againſt this land; that he would ſhew us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiſs to do ſo no more; and eſpecially that whatever miſtakes on either hand have been fallen into, either by the body of this people, or any orders of men, referring to the late tragedy, raiſed among us by ſatan and his inſtruments, through the awful judgment of God, he would humble us therefor and pardon all the errors of his ſervants and people, that deſire to love his name; that he would remove the rod of the wicked from off the lot of the righteous, that he would bring the *American* heathen, and cauſe them to hear and obey his voice.

Given at Boſton, December 17, 1696, *in the 8th year of his Majeſty's reign.*

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

Upon the day of the faſt in the full aſſembly at the ſouth meeting-houſe in *Boſton* one of the honorable Judges, who had ſat in judicature in *Salem*, delivered in a paper, and while it was in reading ſtood up, but the copy being not to be obtained at preſent, it can only be reported by memory to this effect, *viz.* It was to deſire the prayers of God's people for him and his, and that God having viſited his family, &c. he was apprehenſive that he might have fallen into ſome errors in the matters at *Salem*, and pray that the guilt of ſuch miſcarriages may not be imputed either to the country in general, or to him or his family in particular.

Some

Some that had been of ſeveral juries, have given forth a paper, ſigned with their own hands in theſe words.

WE whoſe names are under written, being in the year 1692, called to ſerve as jurors in court at *Salem* on trial of many; who where by ſome ſuſpected guilty of doing acts of witchcraft upon the bodies of ſundry perſons.

We confeſs that we ourſelves were not capable to underſtand, nor able to withſtand the myſterious deluſions of the powers of darkneſs, & prince of the air; but were for want of knowledge in ourſelves, and better information from others, prevailed with to take up with ſuch evidence againſt the accuſed, as on further conſideration, and better information, we juſtly fear was inſufficient for the touching the lives of any, *Deut.* xvii. 6. whereby we fear we have been inſtrumental with others, though ignorently and unwittingly, to bring upon ourſelves and this people of the lord the guilt of innocent blood; which ſin the lord ſaith in ſcripture, he would not pardon, 2 Kings xxiv. 4. that is we ſuppoſe in regard of his temporal judgments. We do therefore hereby ſignify to all in general (and to the ſurviving ſufferers in ſpecial) our deep ſenſe of, and ſorrow for our errors, in acting on ſuch evidence to the condemning of any perſon.

And do hereby declare that we juſtly fear that we were ſadly deluded and miſtaken, for which we are much diſquieted and diſtreſſed in our minds; and do therefore humbly beg forgiveneſs, firſt of God for Chriſt's ſake for this our error; and pray that God would not impute the guilt

of

of it to ourſelves, nor others ; and we alſo pray that we may be conſidered candidly, and aright by the living ſufferers as being then under the power of a ſtrong and general deluſion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that nature.

We do heartily aſk forgiveneſs of you all, whom we have juſtly offended, and do declare according to our preſent minds, we would none of us do ſuch things again on ſuch grounds for the whole world ; praying you to accept of this in way of ſatisfaction for our offence ; and that you would bleſs the inheritance of the Lord, that he may be entreated for the land.

Foreman,	*Thomas Fiſk*,	*Thomas Perly*, ſen.
	William Fiſk,	*John Pebody*,
	John Bacheler,	*Thomas Perkins*,
	Thomas Fiſk, jun.	*Samuel Sayer*,
	John Dane,	*Andrew Elliott*,
	Joſeph Evelith,	*Henry Herrick*, ſen.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since making the foregoing collections of letters, to the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, *and others, &c. (which as yet remain unanſwered) a book is come to hand intituled,*

THE LIFE OF SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, printed in *London*, 1697. Which book, though it

it bears not the author's name, yet the ſtile, manner and matter is ſuch, that were there no other demonſtration or token to know him by, it were no witchcraft to determine that the ſaid Mr. *C. Mather*, is the author of it. But that he who has *encountered enchantments*, and gone through the *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, and *diſcovered the devil*, that he ſhould ſtep aſide into a remote country to put on inviſibility ; though the reaſon of this be not ſo manifeſt, yet it may be thought to be to gratify ſome peculiar fancies ; and why may not this be one, that he might with the better grace extol the actions of Mr. *Mather*, as Agent in England, or as Preſident of Harvard College, not forgetting his own.

As to Sir *William*, it will be generally acknowledged that notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his parentage and education, he attained to be maſter of a ſhip, and that he had the good hap to find a Spaniſh wreck, not only ſufficient to repair his fortunes, but to raiſe him to a conſiderable figure ; which King *James* ſo far aſſiſted, as to make him a Knight.

And that after this, in the reign of his preſent Majeſty, he took up with thoſe of the agents, that were for accepting the new charter, whereby himſelf became Governor.

It is not doubted, but that he aimed at the good of the people, and great pity it is that his government was ſo ſullied (for want of better information and advice, from thoſe whoſe duty it was to have given it) by that hobgoblin monſter, witchcraft, whereby this country was night-mared,

and

and harraſſed, at ſuch a rate, as is not eaſily imagined.

After which ſome complaints going to England about mal-adminiſtration, in the leaſt matters comparatively ; yet were ſuch, that he was called home to give account thereof, where he ſoon after expired, ſo finiſhing his life and government together.

Death having thus drawn the curtain, forbidding any further ſcene, it might have been prudence, to let his duſt remain without diſturbance.

But the ſaid book endeavouring to raiſe a ſtatue to him (i. e.) to aſcribe to him ſuch achievements as either were never performed by him, or elſe unduly aggravated, this has opened the mouth, both of friends and enemies to recount the miſtakes in the ſaid book ; as alſo thoſe miſcarriages, wherewith Sir *William* was chargeable ; ſuch as, had it not been for this book, would have been buried with him.

In page 3, ſearch is made over the world, to whom to compare him in his advancement ; and moſt unhappily *Pizarro* is pitched upon, as a match for him, who was a baſtard, dropt in a church-porch, put to ſuck a ſow, and being grown, ran away, and ſhipt himſelf for America ; there ſo proſpered, as to command an army ; and therewith did mighty things, particularly took *Attaballipa*, one of the Kings of Peru priſoner, and having received for his ranſom in gold and ſilver to the value of ten millions, perfidiouſly put him to death ; and was the death of no man knows how many thouſands of innocents, and is certain-

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ly one of the worſt that could have been pitched upon for ſuch compariſon.

Though this together with the rhetorical flouriſhes, and affected ſtrains therein, are inſtances of the authors variety of learning ; for which he is recommended by theſe three venerable perſons in the entrance to the ſaid book. Yet the integrity, prudence, and veracity thereof, is not ſo manifeſtly to be ſeen. Paſſing over a multitude of miſrepreſentations that are therein relating to the acts of Sir *William*, as not deſigning to rake in the grave of the dead, who is it can ſee the veracity of thoſe words ? p. 40. [He lay within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy's cannon, and beat them from thence, and much battered the town, having his ſhip ſhot through in an hundred places, with four and twenty pounders,] when in the judgment of thoſe preſent, they were not nearer to the enemy, than about half or three quarters of a mile ; that there might be in all about ſeven ſhot that ſtruck the hull of the veſſel, none of them known to be bigger than 18 pounders, the enemy having but one gun that could carry an 18 pound ball.

It were a folly after ſuch aſſertions, to take any notice of this bedecked ſtatue, when there was ſo much the leſs need of erecting one (as if aſſerted p. 108) having already been done ſo well, that even this author himſelf deſpairs of doing it better ; and that by a man of ſuch diffuſed and embalmed a reputation, as that his commendations are aſſerted to be enough to immortalize the reputation of Sir *William*, or whomſoever elſe he ſhould pleaſe to beſtow them upon, viz. that

reverend

reverend perſon who was the Preſident of the only univerſity then in the Engliſh America, p. 109. Which by the way is a much fairer ſtatue, in honor of the Preſident of the univerſity, than that erected for Sir *William*.

For notwithſtanding all this noiſe of erecting ſtatues, and the great danger in plucking them down, &c. yet in p. 89, it is ſaid that even Sir *William* ſhewed choler enough, leaving it open for others, thereby to underſtand, that he was wholly given over to paſſion and choler. And in p. 92, it is ſaid he did not affect any mighty ſhew of devotion; theſe expreſſions with others may prevail with the unbiaſed reader to think that theſe builders of ſtatues, had ſome further deſign in it, than to blazen the achievements of Sir *William Phips*, viz. To ſet forth Mr. *J. Mathers'* negotiation in England, his procuring the new-charter of Sir *William* to be Governor, and himſelf eſtabliſhed Preſident of the college, are the things principally driven at in the book.

Another principal thing is to ſet forth the ſuppoſed witchcrafts in New-England, and how well Mr. *Mather* the younger therein acquitted himſelf.

As to the new charter for the right underſtanding that affair, it will be needful to ſay, that the people that afterwards ſettled in New England, being about to leave their native ſoil, and to ſeek (as the providence of God ſhould direct them) a ſettlement in remote regions, wherein they might beſt ſecure their civil and religious intereſts, before they entered upon this, conſidering it might be

needful on many accounts for their future well-being, they obtained a charter to be in the nature of a prime agreement, ſetting forth the ſovereign's prerogative, and the people's privileges ; in the enjoyment whereof they long continued, after having purchaſed the title to their lands of the natives of their country, and ſettled themſelves therein, without any charge to the crown.

That clauſe in their charter for this country, viz. (Provided that no other chriſtian prince be prepoſſeſſed of it) being a tacit acknowledgment, that before ſettlement no one chriſtian prince had any right thereto more than another. During this time of New England's proſperity, the government here were very ſparing of granting freedoms, except to ſuch as were ſo and ſo qualified. Whereby the number of non-freemen being much increaſed, they were very uneaſy, by their being ſhut out from any ſhare in the government, or having any votes for their repreſentatives, &c. it rendered many of them ready to join with ſuch as were undermining the government, not duly conſidering that it had been far more ſafe to have endeavoured to prevail with the legiſlators for an enlargement.

So that it will not be wondered at that in the latter end of the reign of King *Charles* the II. and of King *James*, (when moſt of the charters in England were vacated) that this was *quo warranto'd* and finally judgment entered up againſt it, and the country was put into ſuch a form of government as was moſt agreeable to thoſe times, viz. A legiſlative power was lodged in the governor (or

Preſident)

Preſident) and ſome few appointed to be of his counſel, without any regard therein, either to the laws of England, or thoſe formerly of this colony: Thus rendering the circumſtances of this country beyond compariſon worſe than thoſe of any corporation in England. The people of thoſe corporations being acknowledged ſtill to have a right to *magna charta*, when their particular charters were made void. But here when *magna charta* has been pleaded, the people have been anſwered, that they muſt not expect that *magna charta* would follow them to the end of the world: not only their eſtates, but their lives being thereby rendered wholly precarious. And Judge *Palmer* has ſet forth in print, that the King has power to grant ſuch a commiſſion over his people.

It is not hard to imagine that under ſuch a commiſſion, not only the people were liable to be oppreſſed by taxes, but alſo by confiſcations, and ſiezing of lands, unleſs patents were purchaſed at exceſſive prices, with many other exorbitant innovations.

The firſt that accepted this commiſſion was Mr. *Dudley*, a gentleman born in this country, who did but prepare the way for Sir *Edm. Andros*. In whoſe time things being grown to ſuch extremities, not only here, but in England, as rendered the ſucceeding revolution abſolutely neceſſary; the revolution here being no other than an acting according to the precedent given by England.

During the time of Sir *Edmonds'* government, Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, teacher of the north church in Boſton, having undergone ſome trouble by fobb-

actions

actions laid upon him, &c. (though with ſome difficulty) he made his eſcape, and got paſſage for England, being therein aſſiſted by ſome particular friends ; where being arrived, he applied himſelf to King *James* for redreſs of thoſe evils the country then groaned under ; and meeting with a ſeeming kind reception, and ſome promiſes, it was as much as might at that time be reaſonably expected.

Upon the day of the revolution here, though the greateſt part of the people were for reaſſuming their ancient government, purſuant to his royal highneſſes proclamation ; yet matters were ſo clogged, that the people were diſſmiſſed without it, who did not in the leaſt miſtruſt but that thoſe who were put out of the government by Mr. *Dudley*, would reaſſume : Mr. *Broadſtreet*, who had been then Governor, being heard to ſay that evening, when returned home, that had not he thought they would have reaſſumed, he would not have ſtirred out of his houſe that day. But after this, ſome, that were driving at other matters, had opportunities by threats and other ways not only to prevail with that good old gentleman, but with the reſt of the government wholly to decline it ; which ſome few obſerving, they took the opportunity to call themſelves a committee of ſafety, and ſo undertook to govern ſuch as would be governed by them.

It has been an obſervation of long continuance that matters of State ſeldom proſper, when managed by the clergy. Among the oppoſers of the reaſſuming, few were ſo ſtrenuous as ſome of the miniſters,

miniſters, and among the miniſters none more vehement than Mr. *Cotton Mather*, paſtor of the north church in Boſton, who has charged them as they would anſwer it another day to reaſſume. Among his arguments againſt it, one was, that it would be to put a ſlight upon his father, who, he ſaid, was in England, labouring for a compleat reſtoration of charter privileges, not doubting, but they would be ſpeedily obtained. Any man that knows New England cannot but be ſenſible, that ſuch diſcourſes from ſuch men, have always been very prevalent. And hence it was that even thoſe that would think themſelves wronged, if they were not numbered among the beſt friends to New-England, and to its charter, would not ſo much as ſtoop to take it up, when there was really nothing to hinder them from the enjoyment thereof.

After the committee of ſafety had continued about ſeven weeks, or rather after anarchy had been ſo long triumphant, an aſſembly having been called came to this reſolution, and laid it before thoſe gentlemen that had been of the government, that if they would not act upon the foundation of the charter, that purſuant to it, the aſſembly would appoint ſome others in that ſtation. The anſwer to which was, that they would accept, &c. And when a declaration ſignifying ſuch a reaſſuming, was prepared with the good liking of the deputies, in order to be publiſhed, ſome that were oppoſers, ſo terrified thoſe gentlemen, that before publiſhing, it was underwritten that they would not have it underſtood that they did reaſſume charter-

government to the no ſmall amazement of the people, and diſappointment of the deputies, who if theſe had not promiſed ſo to act, had taken other care, and put in thoſe that would.

The next principal thing done was, they choſe two of their members, viz. one of the upper houſe, the other of the lower, both of them gentlemen of known integrity as well as ability to go to England in order to obtain their reſettlement; and in regard Mr. *I. Mather* was already there, they joined him, as alſo a certain gentleman in London with theſe other two: Thoſe from hence being arrived in London, they all united for the common intereſt of the country, though without the deſired effect. They were in doubt whether it were beſt to improve their utmoſt for a reverſal of the judgment in a courſe of law, or to obtain it in a parliamentary way, or to petition his Majeſty for a new grant of former privileges; and conſidering that the two firſt might prove dilatory and expenſive, as well as for other reaſons, they reſolved upon the latter, and petitioned his Majeſty for the country's reſettlement, with former privileges, and what further additions his majeſty in his princely wiſdom ſhould think fit. Accordingly it pleaſed his majeſty to declare in counſel his determination, viz. That there ſhould be a charter granted to New-England. But the minutes then taken thereof, and a draught of the new-charter being ſeen, it was the opinion of the two gentlemen ſent from hence, that it were beſt to tarry his majeſty's return from Flanders; in hopes then to obtain eaſe in ſuch things as might be any

ways

ways deemed grievous. And this was the reſult of the advice of ſuch as were beſt able to give it that they could meet with, and accordingly they wholly deſiſted taking it out of the offices.

But Mr. *Mather* and that other gentleman had, as it is ſaid, other advice given them, which they ſtrenuouſly purſued, and his majeſty having left it as is aſſerted in the life of Sir *William*, p. 57, to them to nominate a Governor, they pitched upon Sir *William Phips*, who was then in England, as the moſt likely and able to ſerve the King's intereſts among the people there; under the changes in ſome things unacceptable now brought upon them, p. 62. and without tarrying for the concurrence of thoſe other agents the charter was taken out, &c.

But Mr. *Mather* perhaps fearing he ſhould have but ſmall thanks here for his having ſo far an hand in bringing upon them thoſe unacceptable changes, wrote, and cauſed to be printed, an account of his negotiation, but ſurely by ſome error in the conception, it proved only an embryo, and was ſtifled as ſoon as born. One indeed, deſigned to be as it were a poſthumous was left with Mr. *Bailey*, formerly of Boſton, and a member of the north-church, with a charge not to ſuffer it to be ſeen till he were gone to New-England; yet it ſeems ſome other perſon got a ſight of it, which was the occaſion of Mr. *Mather*'s ſending him that minatory epiſtle, by ſome called a bull. But beſides this, for fear of the worſt, Mr. *Mather* got ſeveral non-con miniſters to give him a teſtimonial, or letters of commendation for his great ſervice herein.

In

In the mean time Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being in ſome doubt of the ſame thing, handed about a paper of fables; wherein his father under the name of *Mercurius*, and himſelf under the name of *Orpheus*, are extolled and the great actions of *Mercurius* magnified; the preſent charter exalted, by trampling on the former, as being very defective, and all thoſe called unreaſonable that did not readily agree with the new one: And indeed the whole country are compared to no better than beaſts, except *Mercurius* and *Orpheus*, the governor himſelf muſt not eſcape being termed an elephant, though as good as he was great, and the inferiors told by *Orpheus* that for the quiet enjoyment of their land, &c. they were beholding to *Mercurius*. Though this paper was judged not convenient to be printed, yet ſome copies were taken, the author having ſhown variety of heathen learning in it.

This is in ſhort that eminent ſervice for which the ſaid Mr. *I. M.* is in the preſent book ſo highly extolled. In ſo many pages, that to repeat them were to tranſcribe a conſiderable part of the ſaid book.

And no doubt he deſerves as much thanks as Dr. *Sharp* did, when he was ſent by the preſbytery of Scotland, to procure the ſettlement of their kirk by king *Charles* II. at his reſtoration.

Not but that the preſent charter of New-England is indeed truly valuable, as containing in it peculiar privileges, which abundantly engages this people to pay the tribute of thankfulneſs to his majeſty, and all due ſubjection to whom it

ſhall

ſhall pleaſe him to ſubſtitute as Governor over us; and to pray that the King of Kings would pour out his richeſt bleſſings upon him, giving him a long and proſperous reign over the nations, under the benign influences whereof oppreſſion and tyranny may flee away.

And if his majeſty hath put this people into the preſent form of Government, that they might be in the better condition of defence in a time of war; or that they might better underſtand the privilege of chooſing their own governor by the want of it, & ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed (the war being over) to reſtore to theſe, as has been already granted to the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects, the full employment of their ancient privileges, it would be ſuch an obligation upon them to thankfulneſs and duty as could never be forgotten, nor ſufficiently expreſt, and would rather abate than encreaſe charge to the crown.

As to the ſuppoſed witchcrafts in New-England, having already ſaid ſo much thereof, there is the leſs remains to be added.

In the times of Sir *Ed. Andros'* government, goody *Glover*, a deſpiſed, crazy, ill-conditioned old woman, an Iriſh Roman Catholic, was tried for afflicting *Goodwin*'s children; by the account of which trial, taken in ſhort-hand for the uſe of the jury, it may appear that the generality of her anſwers were nonſenſe, and her behaviour like that of one diſtracted. Yet the doctors finding her as ſhe had been for many years, brought her in *compos mentis*; and ſetting aſide her crazy anſwers to ſome inſnaring queſtions, the proof a-

gainſt

gainſt her was wholly deficient: The jury brought her in guilty.

Mr. *Cotton Mather* was the moſt active and forward of any miniſter in the country in thoſe matters, taking home one of the children, and managing ſuch intrigues with that child, and after printing ſuch an account of the whole in his memorable providences, as conduced much to the kindling of thoſe flames, that in Sir *William's* time threatened the deſtruction of this country.

King *Saul* in deſtroying the witches out of *Iſrael* is thought by many to have exceeded, and in his zeal to have ſlain the *Gibeonites* wrongfully under that notion: Yet went after this to a witch to know his fortune. For his wrongfully deſtroying the *Gibeonites* (beſides the judgments of God upon the land) his ſons were hanged; and for his going to the witch, himſelf was cut off. Our ſir *William Phips* did not do this, but as appears by this book had firſt his fortune told him, (by ſuch as the author counts no better) and though he put it off (to his paſtor, who he new approved not thereof) as if it were brought to him in writing, without his ſeeking, &c. Yet by his bringing it ſo far, and ſafe keeping it ſo many years, it appears he made ſome account of it; for which he gave the writer, after he had found the wreck, as a reward, more than two hundred pounds. His telling his wife (p. 6.) that he ſhould be a commander, ſhould have a brick-houſe in *Green-lane*, *&c.* might be in confidence of ſome ſuch prediction, and that he could foretel to him

(p. 90.) that he ſhould be governor of New-England, was probably ſuch an one, the ſcriptures not having revealed it. Such predictions would have been counted at Salem, pregnant proofs of witchcraft, and much better than what were againſt ſeveral that ſuffered there. But ſir *William*, when the witchcrafts at Salem began (in his eſteem) to look formidable, that he might act ſafely in this affair, he aſked the advice of the miniſters in and near Boſton ; the whole of their advice and anſwer is printed in *Caſes of Conſcience*, the laſt pages. But leſt the world ſhould be ignorant who it was that drew the ſaid advice, in this book of the life of ſir *William Phips*, p. 77. are theſe words, *the miniſters made to his Excelleny and the Counſel a return, drawn up at their deſire, by Mr.* Mather *the younger, as I have been informed.* Mr. *C. M.* therein intending to beguile the world, and make them think that another, and not himſelf had taken that notice of his (ſuppoſed) good ſervice done therein, which otherwiſe would been aſcribed to thoſe miniſters in general, though indeed the advice then given, looks moſt like a thing of his compoſing, as carrying both fire to increaſe, and water to quench the conflagration. Particularly after the devil's teſtimony, by the ſuppoſed afflicted had to prevailed, as to take away the life of one, and the liberty of an hundred, and the whole country ſet into a moſt dreadful conſternation, then this advice is given, uſhered in with thanks for what was already done, and in concluſion, putting the government upon a ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution according to the

laws

laws of God, and the wholeſome ſtatutes of the Engliſh nation, ſo adding oil rather than water to the flame ; for who ſo little acquainted with the proceedings of England, as not to know that they have taken ſome methods with thoſe here uſed to diſcover who were witches. The reſt of the advice, conſiſting of cautions and directions, are inſerted in this of the life of Sir *William*. So that if Sir *William*, looking upon the thanks for what was paſt, and exhortation to proceed; went on to take away the lives of nineteen more, this is according to the advice ſaid to be given him by the miniſters, and if the devil after thoſe executions be affronted, by diſbelieving his teſtimony, and by clearing and pardoning all the reſt of the accuſed ; yet this alſo is according to that advice, but to caſt the ſcale ; the ſame that drew this advice, ſaith, in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, *Enchantments Encountered* ; that to have a hand in any thing that may ſtifle or obſtruct a regular direction of that witchcraft, is what we may well with a holy fear avoid : Their majeſty's good ſubjects muſt not every day be torn to pieces by horrid witchcraft, and thoſe bloody felons be wholly left unproſecuted ; the witchcraft is a buſineſs that will not be ſhammed. The paſtor of that church, of which Sir *William* was a member, being of this principle, and thus declaring it, after the former advice ; no wonder though it caſt the ſcale againſt thoſe cautions. It is rather a wonder thatno more blood was ſhed, for if that advice of his paſtor could ſtill have prevailed with the governor, witchcraft had not been ſo ſhammed off as it was. Yet

now

now in this book of the life of Sir *William*, the pardoning the priſoners when condemned, and clearing the goals, is called (p. 82) a vanquiſhing the devil, adding this conqueſt to the reſt of the noble atchievements of Sir *William*, though performed not only without, but directly againſt his paſtor's advice. But this is not all, though this book pretends to raiſe a ſtatue in honor of Sir *William*, yet it appears it was the leaſt part of the deſign of the author to honor him, but it was rather to honor himſelf, and the miniſters; it being ſo unjuſt to Sir *William*, as to give a full account of the cautions given him, but deſignedly hiding from the reader the encouragements and exhortations to proceed, that were laid before him (under the name of the miniſter's advice) in effect, telling the world that thoſe executions at Salem were without and againſt the advice of the miniſters, expreſt in thoſe cautions, purpoſely hiding their giving thanks for what was already done, and exhorting to proceed; thereby rendering Sir *William* of ſo ſanguinary a complexion, that the miniſters had ſuch cauſe to fear his going on with the tragedy, though againſt their advice, that they deſired the Preſident to write his *Caſes of Conſcience*, &c. To plead miſinformation will not ſalve here, however it may ſeem to palliate other things, but is a manifeſt, deſigned traverſty, or miſrepreſentation of the miniſters advice to Sir *William*, a hiding the truth, and a wronging the dead, whom the author ſo much pretends to honor; for which the acknowledgments ought to be as univerſal as the offence. But though the miniſters' advice,

or rather Mr. *Cotton Mather*'s was perfectly ambidexter, giving as great or greater encouragement to proceed in thoſe dark methods, than cautions againſt them ; yet many eminent perſons being accuſed, there was a neceſſity of a ſtop to be put to it. If it be true what was ſaid at the counſel-board in anſwer to the commendations of Sir *William*, for his ſtopping the proceedings about witchcraft, viz. that it was high time for him to ſtop it, his own lady being accuſed ; if that aſſertion were a truth, then New-England may ſeem to be more beholden to the accuſers for accuſing her, and thereby neceſſitating a ſtop, than to Sir *William*, or to the advice that was given him by his paſtor.

Mr. *Cotton Mather* having been very forward to write books of witchcraft has not been ſo forward either to explain or defend the doctrinal part thereof, and his belief (which he had a year's time to compoſe) he durſt not venture ſo as to be copied. Yet in this of the Life of Sir *William* he ſufficiently teſtifies his retaining that heterodox belief, ſeeking by frightful ſtories of the ſufferings of ſome, and the refined ſight of others, &c. P. 69 to obtrude upon the world, and confirm it in ſuch a belief as hitherto he either cannot or will not defend, as if the blood already ſhed thereby were not ſufficient.

Mr. *I. Mather*, in his *Caſes of Conſcience* p. 25, tells of a bewitched eye, and that ſuch can ſee more than others. They were certainly bewitched eyes that could ſee as well ſhut as open, and that could ſee what never was, that could ſee the priſoners upon the afflicted, harming them, when

thoſe

thoſe whoſe eyes were not bewitched could have ſworn that they did not ſtir from the bar. The accuſers are ſaid to have ſuffered much by biting, p. 73. And the prints of juſt ſuch a ſet of teeth, as thoſe they accuſed had, but ſuch as had not ſuch bewitched eyes have ſeen the accuſers bite themſelves, and then complain of the accuſed. It has alſo been ſeen when the accuſed, inſtead of having juſt ſuch a ſet of teeth, has not had one in his head. They were ſuch bewitched eyes that could ſee the poiſonous powder (brought by ſpectres p. 70.) And that could ſee in the aſhes the print of the brand, there inviſibly heating to torment the pretended ſufferers with, &c.

Theſe with the reſt of ſuch legends have this direct tendency, viz. To tell the world that the devil is more ready to ſerve his votaries, by his doing for them things above or againſt the courſe of nature, ſhewing himſelf to them, and making explicit contract with them, &c. than the divine Being is to his faithful ſervants, and that as he is willing, ſo alſo able to perform their deſires. The way whereby theſe people are believed to arrive at a power to afflict their neighbours, is by a compact with the devil, and that they have a power to commiſſion him to thoſe evils, p. 72. However irrational, or unſcriptural ſuch aſſertions are, yet they ſeem a neceſſary part of the *Faith* of ſuch as maintain the belief of ſuch a ſort of witches.

As the ſcriptures know nothing of a covenanting or commiſſioning witch, ſo reaſon cannot conceive how mortals ſhould by their wickedneſs

arrive

arrive at a power to commiſſion angels, fallen angels, againſt their innocent neighbours. But the Scriptures are full in it, and the inſtances numerous, that the almighty, divine being has this prerogative to make uſe of what inſtruments he pleaſeth, in afflicting any, and conſequently to commiſſion devils: and though this word commiſſioning, in the author's former books, might be thought to be by inadvertency, yet now after he hath been cautioned of it, ſtill to perſiſt in it ſeems highly criminal. And therefore in the name of God, I here charge ſuch belief as guilty of ſacrilege in the higheſt nature, and ſo much worſe than ſtealing church plate, &c. As it is a higher offence to ſteal any of the glorious attributes of the almighty, to beſtow them upon mortals, than it is to ſteal the utenſils appropriated to his ſervice. And whether to aſcribe ſuch power of commiſſioning devils to the worſt of men, be not direct blaſphemy, I leave to others better able to determine. When the Phariſees were ſo wicked as to aſcribe to Beelzebub, the mighty works of Chriſt (whereby he did manifeſtly ſhew forth his power and godhead) than it was that our Saviour declared the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to be unpardonable.

When the righteous God is contending with apoſtate ſinners for their departures from him by his judgments as plagues, earthquakes, ſtorms and tempeſts, ſickneſſes and diſeaſes, wars, loſs of cattle, &c. Then not only to aſcribe this to the devil, but to charge one another with ſending or commiſſioning thoſe devils to theſe things, is ſo

abominable

abominable and ſo wicked, that it requires a better judgment than mine to give it its juſt denomination.

But that chriſtians ſo called ſhould not only charge their fellow chriſtians therewith, but proceed to trials and executions; crediting that enemy to all goodneſs, and acculer of the brethren, rather than believe their neighbours in their own defence; this is ſo diabolical a wickedneſs as cannot proceed, but from a doctrine of devils; how far damnable it is let others diſcuſs. Though ſuch things were acting in this country in Sir *William's* time, yet p. 65. There is a diſcourſe of a guardian angel, as then over-ſeeing it, which notion, however it may ſuit the faith of Ethnicks, or the fancies of *Tritbemius*; it is certain that the omnipreſent Being, ſtands not in need as earthly potentates do, of governing the world by vicegerents. And if Sir *William* had ſuch an inviſible pattern to imitate, no wonder though ſome of his actions were unaccountable, eſpecially thoſe relating to witchcraft: for if there was in thoſe actions an angel ſuperintending, there is little reaſon to think it was *Gabriel* or the ſpirit of *Mercury*, nor *Hanael* the angel or ſpirit of *Venus*, nor yet *Samuel* the angel or ſpirit of *Mars*; Names feigned by the ſaid *Tritbemius*, &c. It may rather be thought to be *Apollyon*, or *Abaddon*.

Objection. But here it will be ſaid, what, are there no witches? does not the law of God command that they ſhould be extirpated? Is the command vain and unintelligible? *Sol.* For any to ſay that a witch is one that makes a compact with,

and commiſſions devils, &c. is indeed to render the law of God vain and unintelligible, as having provided no way whereby they might be detected, and proved to be ſuch; And how the Jews waded through this difficulty for ſo many ages, without the ſupplement of Mr. *Perkins* and *Bernard* thereto, would be very myſterious. But to him that can read the ſcriptures without prejudice from education, &c. it will manifeſtly appear that the ſcripture is full and intelligible, both as to the crime and means to detect the culpable. He that ſhall hereafter ſee any perſon, who to confirm people in a falſe belief, about the power of witches and devils, pretending to a ſign to confirm it; ſuch as knocking off of inviſible chains with the hand, driving away devils by bruſhing, ſtriking with a ſword or ſtick, to wound a perſon at a great diſtance, &c. may (according to that head of Mr. *Gauls*, quoted by Mr. *C. M.* and ſo often herein before recited, and ſo well proved by ſcripture) conclude that he has *ſeen witchcraft performed.*

If *Baalam* became a ſorcerer by ſacrifizing and praying to the true God againſt his viſible people; than he that ſhall pray that the afflicted (by their *Spectral* ſight) may accuſe ſome other perſon (whereby their reputations and lives may be indangered) ſuch will juſtly deſerve the name of a *Sorcerer.* If any perſon pretends to know more than can be known by human means, and profeſſeth at the ſame time that they have it from the *Black-Man, i. e. the Devil*, and ſhall from hence give teſtimony againſt the lives of others, they are

manifeſtly

manifeſtly ſuch as have a familiar ſpirit; and if any, knowing them to have their information from the *Black-man*, ſhall be inquiſitive of them for their teſtimony againſt others, they therein are dealing with ſuch as have a *Familiar-Spirit*.

And if theſe ſhall pretend *to ſee the dead* by their *ſpectral ſight*, and others ſhall be inquiſitive of them, and receive their anſwers what it is the *dead ſay*, and who it is they accuſe, both the one and the other are by ſcripture *Guilty of Necromancy*.

Theſe are all of them crimes as eaſily proved as any whatſoever, and that by ſuch proof as the law of God requires, ſo that it is *no unintelligible law*.

But if the iniquity of the times be ſuch that theſe criminals not only eſcape being indemnified, but are encouraged in their wickedneſs, and made uſe of to take away the lives of others, this is worſe than a making the law of God *vain*, it being a rendering of it *dangerous*, againſt the lives of innocents, and without all hopes of better, ſo long as theſe bloody principles remain.

As long as chriſtians do eſteem the *law of God to be imperfect*, as not deſcribing that crime that it requires to be puniſhed by death.

As long as men ſuffer themſelves to be poiſoned in their education, and be grounded in a *falſe belief by the books of the Heathen.*

As long as the *Devil* ſhall be believed to have *a natural power to act above and againſt a courſe of nature.*

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As long as the *witches* ſhall be believed to have a power to *commiſſion him.*

As long as the *devil's teſtimony*, by the pretended afflicted, ſhall be received as *more valid to condemn*, than their plea of *not guilty* to acquit.

As long as the *accuſed* ſhall have their *lives and liberties* confirmed and reſtored to them *upon their confeſſing themſelves guilty.*

As long as the *accuſed* ſhall he forced to *undergo hardſhips and torments* for their not confeſſing.

As long as *tets* for the *devil to ſuck* are ſearched for upon the bodies of the accuſed, as a token of guilt.

As long as the *Lord's prayer* ſhall be profaned, by being made a teſt, who are culpable.

As long as *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Familiar Spirits, and Necromancy*, ſhall be improved to diſcover who are *witches, &c.*

So long it may be expected that innocents will ſuffer as witches.

So long God will be daily diſhonoured, and ſo long his judgments muſt be expected to be continued.

F I N I S.

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